Hollywood Knocks on Statehouse Doors

California JOURNAL

JULY 1999
$3.95
a State Net Publication

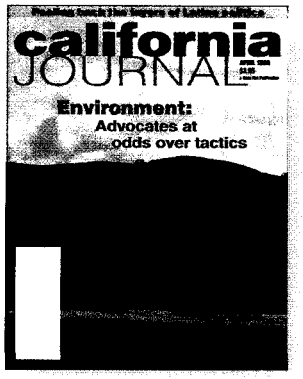
The Capitol Game

Think your life is complicated? Enter the complex world of the Legislature in this new role-playing adventure.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

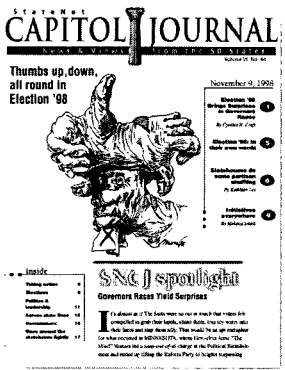
California Journal & State Net Publications

California Journal



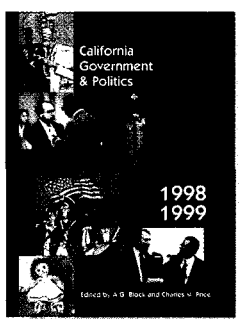
Each month *California Journal* brings its readers lively, nonpartisan reporting on the politics, people and issues at the cutting edge of the nation's leading state. The award-winning *Journal* contains articles on issues, profiles of state decision makers, and lively columns, all presented in an inviting, readable format. *$39.95 annual subscription.*

State Net Capitol Journal—California



Capitol Journal is *the* publication about political life in the nation's largest and most vibrant state. Reported and written by the editors of the *California Journal,* it has the feel of a newsletter but the impact of a magazine. The weekly is a miniature California Journal, with hard-hitting analysis of key issues and hot election races. The daily provides news stories, legislative floor session schedules, committee hearings, Capitol rallies, news conferences as well as client registrations among the lobbying corps and more. No one whose livelihood depends on events in the Capitol can afford to be without this detailed, informative, and insightful publication. *Daily & weekly. FAX, Web or E-mail delivery. $480. Also available: 50-State SNCJ & weeklies in MA, PA, IL, and OH.*

California Government and Politics Annual



Includes a brief overview and reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the three branches of government, politics and elections, lobbying, finance, local government, direct democracy, and other issues. *8$^{1/2}$x11", 96 pages. $8.95, paper.*

Coming this summer, *the new*

California Political Almanac, 1999-2000 edition

Candid analysis of every California member of the Assembly, Senate and Congress, as well as constitutional officers. Includes chapters on the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government and more. 570 pages.

California Roster & Government Guide

This 8$^{1/2}$x11" Roster contains the name, address, telephone number, top staff and district offices of every member of the Assembly, state Senate, and Congress plus constitutional officers and state departments. Includes 195 photos, legislative process chart, and committee memberships. *Annual, 40 pages, $3.50. Bulk discounts available.*

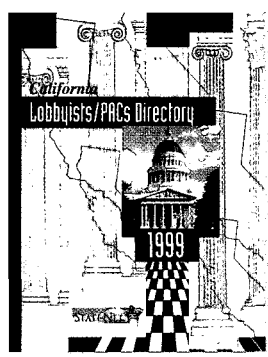
California Pocket Roster

This handy, pocket-sized roster contains names, addresses, telephone numbers, top staff and district offices of every member of the Assembly, state Senate, and our members of Congress plus biographical information, district descriptions, committees, offices of the legislature, and much more. *Annual, 144 pages, $9.95. Bulk discounts available.*

California Local Government Directory

Lists every city and county with its top appointed officials, their addresses and phone numbers. More than 9,000 listings. *Annual, 300 pages, $60.*

California Lobbyists/ PACs Directory



Incudes complete listings for 1,000 lobbyists, 300 firms, 2,000 employers and 1,500 political action commmittees. *Annual, 225 pages. $40.*

California State Government Directory

Loose-leaf with quarterly updates. Names, photographs, bios, district descriptions, addresses, phones, party affiliations, committees and staff for the Legislature. State departments, boards and commissions and their top staff. Indexed with more than 2,600 listings. *Quarterly, 170 pages, $125.*

Call now to order: (800) 726-4566
or (916) 444-0840
or FAX (916) 446-5369

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

california JOURNAL

July 1999
Volume XXX, Number 7

Upfront

Rostrum

State of the State

The Bottom Line

Washington Perspective

The Capitol Game

If you think your life is a complicated, intertwining balancing act, try slipping into the loafers of a California Assembly member. Better still — play our *Capitol Game* and get a virtual- reality taste of the complexities of our state political and legislative processes. This is how a bill *really* becomes law.

By A.G. Block, with *CJ* editors

Hollywood Comes Knocking

Glancing back to see Canada gaining, Hollywood is marching to the statehouse to seek favors and tax-breaks from lawmakers sympathetic to the industry's continuing complaints about a shrinking market share.

By Melanie Smith

The Stabilizing Force of Liz Hill

No one has a bad thing to say about Elizabeth Hill, Legislative Analyst. There's a reason for that: Her solid job performance, which is more critical than ever in this era of term limits.

By Max Vanzi

Game board Illustration by Sandra Hoover

Long before a slender silver disk inserted into a narrow computer slot could launch interactive game play, a handful of niche magazines — including "Strategy & Tactics" and "Wargamer" — existed to publish simulation games for strategy-minded military and history enthusiasts. In each issue, you could find a pull-out game board with page after page of dense, complex step-by-step instructions and reference keys. Luckily, *California Journal* Editor A.G. Block had a small collection on hand for *CJ* Art Director Dagmar Thompson to refer to as she began laying out this month's *Capitol Game*. These were useful for her to look at for ideas of what *not* to do.

Thompson's challenge in presenting the game — with all of its complicated, interwoven player options and 40 steps (remember, we're trying to make a point here!) — in an entertaining and informative way was made easier by the lively work of Sacramento illustrator Sandra Hoover. Hoover's last CJ cover dramatically depicted the November 1998 gubernatorial election match-up of then-candidates Gray Davis and Dan Lungren — and Thompson has recruited her for a string of assignments since then. None, however, rose to the level of creating the visuals for *The Capitol Game*, a task that Hoover undertook with unending enthusiasm as she infused the gameboard's characters with personality and verve.

Cynthia H. Craft

The Capitol Game, as Block writes in his introduction, represents a marked departure from the usual content you'll see in the *California Journal*. We hope you get as much out of playing or perusing it as we did in shaping this collector's-edition issue for you.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

umbrage

Kindred spirit. A young journalist arriving in Sacramento to cover state politics in the mid-1980s faced a special set of challenges. Understanding the murky, complicated legislative process was hard enough. But there were also the unsettled politics of the moment — discord in the Assembly, behind-the-scenes deal-making, special-interest manipulation. One oasis of understanding existed within this puzzling legislative maze — a cramped office just off the stairway on the second floor of the main Capitol building. Inside toiled Robert Forsyth, press secretary for then-Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti. Forsyth was a godsend to a reporter — an unfailingly credible "flack" who told the whole story, not just the parts his boss wanted you to hear. Forsyth was especially nurturing to someone trying to find his or her way through the maze, pointing to the most credible sources. His understanding of a journalist's needs was hardly surprising — he spent 15 years in the business before moving over to Roberti's office. But the personal integrity, accessibility and laconic charm were all his own. Bob Forsyth died last month at the age of 58 after a 12-year bout with lymphatic cancer. Our profession is poorer for the loss.

Play Ball! Politics not only makes strange bedfellows, it makes for some interesting battery mates (in baseball lingo, the term "battery" refers to the pitcher-catcher combo). Witness the line-up that showed up for first-pitch ceremonies at the home opener for the new Sacramento Steelheads minor league baseball team. On the mound, Pete Rose — the all-time major league hit leader who was banned from baseball for involvement in illegal gambling. And catching? How about Bill Jones, Republican secretary of state. Normally, such pairings would be only mildly amusing, but there's a special coincidence surrounding this combo. Rose is not only a baseball pariah but an ex-con, having landed in the federal pokey on tax-evasion charges. Jones was one of the co-authors and chief cheerleaders for the Three-Strikes-You're-Out law. So there you have it: A guy with a strike throwing a strike to the author of "Three Strikes." Pretty striking, don't you think?

Mexican standoff. That feud between Governor Gray Davis and Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante seems far from resolved. Sources observing the two at close range during the May Sacramento visit of Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo reported the iciness was palpable. The body language was similarly stiff at the rostrum in the state Assembly, from which Zedillo addressed a joint session of the Legislature. Then there was the issue of Bustamante's introduction of Davis at that joint session. The written text of Bustamante's brief remarks included the following: "...California and Mexico are distant neighbors no more. In California, we can say this because of the leadership of Governor Gray Davis. Today you see the fruit of his labor." But when it came time to deliver those comments, Bustamante went "off-script" to heap praise upon the Mexican president for making the trip. When he got back around to introducing Davis, somehow all that stuff about fruited labor and leadership was never mentioned. Bustamante and his aides insisted it was "over-interpretation" to suggest the omission was intentional. But after all that had gone down between the two — Davis stiffing Bustamante in his decision to mediate the state's Proposition 187 lawsuit, then stealing his parking spots in a burst of pettiness when Bustamante called him on it — it's not hard to see how all those sugary words might have caught in his throat. Just a harmless omission? You be the judge.

Trimming the bacon. A budget-year toast to whichever enlightened soul came up with the idea to get rid of "Members Day." The two-house conference committee that negotiates most of the budget has traditionally set aside the first day for members to pitch their various pork barrel projects. Lawmaker after lawmaker would importune conferees to recognize their district's dire need for a new swimming pool, or a park named for a major campaign donor. In theory, the purpose of "Members Day" was to allow lawmakers to make a case for their funding priorities. In recent years, however, the real purpose of "Members Day" was to allow lawmakers to issue press releases for district consumption, detailing how they'd fought for inclusion of thus and such in the budget. As Senate Budget Committee chair Steve Peace (D-Chula Vista) aptly described it, the institution had become "an anachronism." So how were these requests handled this year? With written requests addressed to the committee. When collected, the individual requests filled three large binders, and even the whittled-down list still produced a stack of pleas six inches high.

CORRECTION. In a May 1999 article titled "U.S. Supreme Court rules on initiatives," we inadvertantly dropped a letter when identifying the court case that was ruled upon. The correct name of the case is *Buckley, Secretary of State of Colorado v. American Constitutional Law Foundation.*

> *"We're going to move left and right at the same time."*
>
> — Jerry Brown

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

california JOURNAL a State Net publication

Editor: A.G. Block

Managing Editor: Cynthia H. Craft

Senior Editor: Sigrid Bathen

Political Editor: Steve Scott

Associate Editors: Claudia Buck, Noel Brinkerhoff, Kathleen Les, Melanie Smith

Contributing Editors: Lou Cannon, Lance Izumi, Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, Susan Rasky, Marc Sandalow, Dana Wilkie

Research Assistants/ staff writers: Sekhar Padmanabhan, Tippy Young

Circulation: Tim Foster

Art Director: Dagmar Thompson

Art Staff: Suzanne Raney

Advertising Representative: Mary Dolliver (916) 444-2840

Advertising Coordinator: Erica Pahl, (916) 444-2840

Founding Publisher: Thomas R. Hoeber

STATE NET

Services & Publications

50-state and congressional on-line legislative and regulatory reporting • Single-state on-line legislative and regulatory reporting for CA,, CO, IL, MI, MA, OH, and PA • State Net Capitol Journal • California Directories • California Journal • California Political Almanac •California Journal On-line •50-state legislative Directory • Books & Seminars

For more information call: (916) 444-0840

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a monthly, non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The Journal is available on-line through StateNet, Nexis/Lexis and Westlaw. It is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times nformation Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts and Urban Affairs Abstracts. California Journal (ISSN 0008-1205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $59.00; Corporations and Associations, $95.00; Special Individual rate, $42.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816 Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1998 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc. Periodicals postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816.

letters

Central Valley

On behalf of our congregation, I wish to express my deep appreciation for your marvelous June issue, "The Central Valley: A Special Issue on California's Heartland."

The six major articles as well as the regular monthly features vividly depicted the tremendous diversity, opportunities and challenges of a unique region in the greatest state in the union. The Argonauts of 1849 sought, often vainly, the Golden Fleece of mineral wealth. The Central Valley residents of 1999 seek wealth of a different kind—what the Preamble to our state Constitution aptly describes as the "blessings" of "our freedom" and what author William Saroyan characterized a half-century ago as "small values...which are ultimately the greatest."

REVEREND BERNARD GUEKGUEZIAN
First Armenian Presbyterian Church, Fresno

In your article "Preserving the Valley's Farmland," you refer to the Hmong community as "coming from a backward culture."

By U.S. standards the Hmong culture may seem underdeveloped, third-world, or rural, but I find your reference to their culture as backward offensive. Whether or not a culture is backward is a subjective determination. Indeed many may consider U.S. culture backward.

I hope you will be more thoughtful about the words you choose to use to describe other cultures in future articles.

ELENA LOPEZ-GUSMAN
Sacramento

I am writing to compliment Peter H. King on the article about the Central Valley. As a relative newcomer from Minnesota engaged in the civic sector, I thought it was insightful, beautiful and provocative. As I talk with other people who have moved here from major metro areas, we share many of the same experiences. Once you get past the first six months or so, the Valley people get into your heart and you want to help. The potential is so captivating, the barriers so frustrating, and the sense of urgency is so compelling.

DEBORAH NANKIVELL
Director
Fresno Business Council

Kudos to Peter H. King for his recent essay in your magazine. He writes about the Valley from an insider's viewpoint — something that is lost on those who are not a part, who see the Valley as a place to pass through on the way to some place more glamorous, more exotic. Mr. King has managed to capture the essence of the paradox that living in the Valley implies and he does so using imagery and words it is a pleasure to read.

My favorite section is his depiction of high tech jobs lapping over the Altamont, while "little farmtowns must sell their municipal souls to the prison boom in the hope of steadier employment and maybe even a McDonald's." This is sad, but oh, so true.

I share Mr. King's concerns and hopes for the Valley and applaud you for including this article in your magazine.

JANA COONS
Associate Planner
City of Modesto

Thanks to Sigrid Bathen in her *Two Cents* column for the reminder of the Chico of my youth, even though you tempered it with the tragic changes you described. I remember well many summer days in Bidwell Park when we were there without fear. It is hard to describe the environment of the '40s and '50s in a small town to people who did not experience it. You have done a nice job.

LEN McCANDLISS
President
Sierra Health Foundation, Sacramento

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Capito

A role-playing adventure that puts you inside the California Legislature

Ever wondered what it would be like to be a newly elected member of the state Legislature? You arrive in Sacramento brimming with ideas, ready to improve the world. All you need do to leave an imprint on the lives of your fellow citizens is to conceive a bill, grind it through the legislative sausage-maker and have the governor sign it into law. *California Journal's* "Roster and Government Guide" even provides a road map — the "Legislative Process Chart" — that shows you how to do it.

Simple.

Unfortunately, it isn't quite *that* simple, for an accurate "legislative process chart" also includes a few land mines, badly marked trails, dead ends and political trapdoors not included in the Roster version. To correct that misconception, the *California Journal* has created *"The Capitol Game"* in an attempt to provide insight into the intricacies associated with the Legislature — a view that isn't likely to be taught in a typical class on state government. *"The Capitol Game"* is precisely that — a role-playing adventure in which the reader assumes the part of a rookie Assembly member and attempts to push a bill through a twisting and often unpredictable maze.

Maneuvering through that process is very complicated and is driven in large measure by difficult political decisions that each lawmaker must make on a daily basis – decisions that often have nothing to do with the merits of his or her legislation. Yet each choice carries with it the potential for triumph or disaster, and success itself often is measured by unconventional yardsticks. If *"The Capitol Game" seems daunting and intricate, it is meant to be, for we designed it to simulate a* complex universe. Think of it as a computer game without the computer — requiring concentration, thought, organization, attention to detail and anticipation of what comes next. And as with any game, there are elements of the real world that have intentionally been left out or abbreviated for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Game

By A.G. Block

sake of playability and entertainment. For instance, the game is an exercise in how politics interacts with procedure. Thus, a crucial element is missing — namely, policy. This is not to diminish the importance of what a bill tries to accomplish or the role policy plays in its success or failure. It is just that, in the interest of brevity, we've assumed that the measures have merit, and that the negotiations that fine-tune a bill are done off-board. Finally, we have not tried to re-create the learning curve a rookie legislator must negotiate to become familiar with a range of policy arenas — from water quality to education funding to prison construction to local government to doctor disclosure to animal research to earthquake retrofitting, *ad infinitum*.

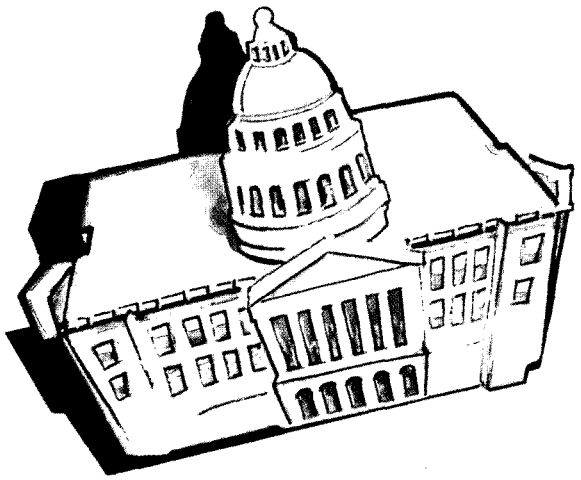
We strongly suggest that *"The Capitol Game"* be played as a group activity, with one participant appointed "speaker" to monitor decisions, award and confiscate chits and dish out consequences found on *"The Speaker's Agenda."* The game may be played solitaire, of course, but it will be difficult to capture the full flavor of decision-making and the impact of random events.

We also recommend that you not read ahead. Do not study the 40 steps contained in the "process" or the accompanying charts and Random Event cards beforehand. Just plunge ahead and play. After all, in the real-life version, only a rookie legislator who has previously worked as a key legislative staffer has "studied the board" before maneuvering through it. As a result, each player will make mistakes – just like a real rookie. And, of course, each player will be more adept the second time he or she plays the game - just like a real legislator.

What you have before you represents a marked departure in content for the *California Journal*. During our 30 years of publication covering state government and politics, we have aimed at informing, challenging and engaging you, the reader. In a sense, this is just our latest attempt, albeit in a new form — an interactive board game.

We encourage you to contact us with your thoughts and your experiences while playing it. Mainly, in addition to entertaining you, we hope to spark discussion, debate and ruminations about the complexities of California's legislative and political processes. Please let us know what you think. E-mail comments to *California Journal* Editor A.G. Block at agb@statenet.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Capitol Game

"HOW A BILL *REALLY* BECOMES A LAW"

(*California Journal's* role-playing game about the state Legislature.)

Thanks to the glories of term limits, the grizzled three-term veteran who represented you in the state Assembly for the past six years has moved on to the state Senate, leaving a vacancy in your backyard. Operating under the premise "Why not me?" you have parlayed your experience on the Nuggetville Planning Commission into a winning campaign for the Legislature and now are a rookie member of the California Assembly.

Welcome to Sacramento!

Your job now is to get yourself re-elected — and, yes, to represent your constituents. This means showing the folks back home that you have influence in the State Capitol and thus can deliver for them. Aside from large amounts of pork for district parks and streets, a good way to demonstrate your prowess is to shepherd an important bill through the legislative process, onto the governor's desk and into law. That is the task before you in *The Capitol Game*. First, understand that serving as a legislator means making decisions and that nearly every decision has consequences for good or ill. So, *The Capitol Game* is all about choices and how they influence your fate.

THE RULES

The Capitol Game is complex and meant to be. It requires concentration, thought, organization and attention to detail. Normally, a legislator has a staff to do the heavy lifting. We've provided three basic forms instead (photocopy the forms so that each participant has his or her own):

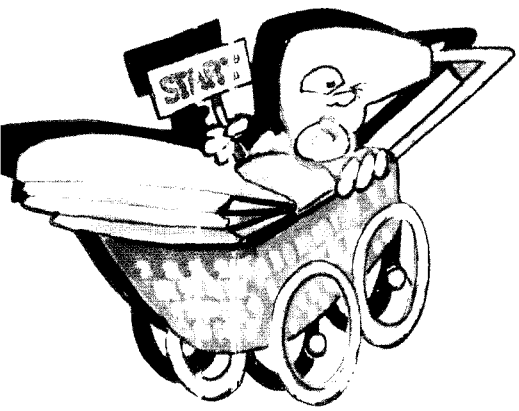
- **My Legislative Director:** Keeps track of the decisions you are asked to make while maneuvering through the process and in response to various random events. Be sure to record each decision.
- **The Vote Box:** Records the Republican, Democratic and Green votes cast for your bill at each step in the process. Crucial for keeping track of how many votes you've wrangled.
- **My Campaign Treasurer:** Keeps track of money — the amount you take in at your fund raisers; the amount you transfer to the caucus, to other members and to your re-election kitty; and a running balance of available cash-on-hand.

Think of the forms as your staff. Without using them properly, you'll get lost, especially when it comes to tracking decisions.

In essence, *The Capitol Game* is an exercise in making decisions. Pay particular attention to them, for they are the heart of the game and affect how well, or how poorly, you do. (We've flagged decision points with a ★.)

First, some basic assumptions. You are an Assembly Democrat. Let's face it, the game must be realistic, and at the time this game was developed, the Assembly was dominated by 47 Democrats. Thus, intriguing Republican ideas generally are stolen by Democrats anyway. The hurdles facing the minority party could make the game interesting but not worth playing. Also, to get the full flavor of operating as a rookie legislator, don't peek through

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



the game before you play it for the first time. Take the plunge. You'll make mistakes, of course, but then be more adept the second time around — just like a real legislator.

We strongly suggest that *The Capitol Game* be played as a group activity, with one member of the group appointed "speaker" to monitor decisions, award and confiscate chits and dish out the consequences found on "The Speaker's Agenda." The speaker should not have a bill going through the process.

Finally, do not think of the game as a race; it doesn't matter which participant first maneuvers a bill through the process. The goal is to master the process and to earn the governor's signature; the pace may be different for each. The game may be played solitaire, of course, but it will be difficult to re-create the full flavor of decision-making and the impact of random events as a solo activity.

The game board:

The numbers on the game board correspond to steps in these rules. As you complete the instructions at each numbered step, move to the next number. At certain points along the way, you will encounter chance events that require selection of a card from the *"Random Event"* pile. During play tests, we took turns drawing the card, and that procedure worked well.

What we provide:

- the game board
- the Process (40-step rules)
- descriptions of available districts to represent
- *Random Event* cards (they should be copied, cut out and stacked where all players have access to them)
- *My Campaign Treasurer* form (should be copied so that each player has one)
- *My Legislative Director* form (should be copied so that each player has one)
- *Oh Rats!* form for tracking random events (should be copied so that each player has one)
- *Vote Box* form (should be copied so that each player has one)
- *Speaker's Agenda* form

What you will need:

- 2 six-sided dice
- photocopies of the forms provided in the magazine (we also suggest copying the *Random Event* cards before you cut them out)
- 3 different kinds of items of game board pieces to use as "chits" (poker chips might be one, a roll of tickets might be another.)

Before you begin:

You must choose a district and choose a bill to sponsor.

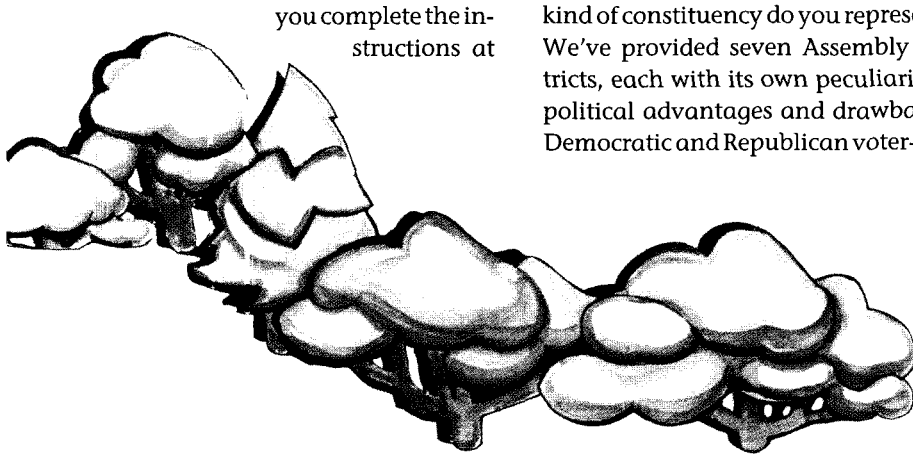
Where do you come from? What kind of constituency do you represent? We've provided seven Assembly districts, each with its own peculiarities, political advantages and drawbacks. Democratic and Republican voter-registration figures (as of October 1998) for actual districts in areas described are provided in parentheses. The "$" indicates the ability to raise campaign cash from within the district. The more $$s, the better.

District A (49% D - 31% R): Ah, the beautiful, rugged, iconoclastic North Coast, home to the timber industry, old-growth redwood forests, a growing population of spotted owls and more than a few environmentalists — one of whom has been living in a tree for 18 months to protest cutting down redwoods. Trees vs. jobs is a common battleground. The district tends to elect Democrats, but the overlapping congressional district has pinballed between the parties throughout the 1990s. As a result, leadership sometimes allows Democrats who represent this area to pass on controversial political bills. Some money may be raised from the wine industry located in Sonoma County, but otherwise this district isn't a fount of campaign cash. Also included are the touristy coastal communities of Mendocino County and the maximum-security prison at Pelican Bay in Del Norte County. **$$**

POTENTIAL BILLS: Exemption from certain Cal-OSHA requirements for commercial fishermen; shielding old-growth redwoods from logging; Logging Industry Job Re-Training Act; increased state tariff on imported Norwegian wine; tax exemptions and zoning and environmental exemptions for movies made on location.

District B (60% D - 13% R): Rice-a-Roni Central — namely, the eastern chunk of San Francisco. Ethnically diverse and solidly Democratic, it gives you enormous flexibility and freedom to vote on controversial bills and immediate access to San Francisco political money. Policy savvy is less important than political muscle and gamesmanship in protecting Bay Area interests from southern power grabs. **$$$$$$**

POTENTIAL BILLS: Tax credit for filming movies in San Francisco; a bond measure to retrofit and redesign the Bay Bridge; allowing local govern-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

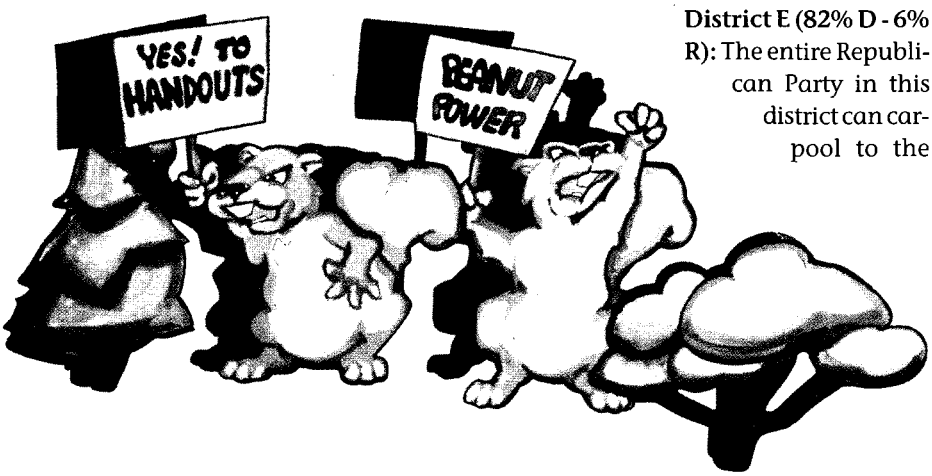
ments to buy out professional sports franchises that threaten to move; nursing-home reform.

District C (50% D - 38% R): California's Central Valley is never safe for Democrats, and this is the very heart of the San Joaquin Valley. Republicans and Democrats have traded it back and forth for two decades, making it ground zero in elections. A recall effort was mounted here during the 1990s. Corporate agriculture is a political and economic giant and a source of campaign funds, if you have an elephant tattooed on your shoulder. The major population center is Stockton, home to a generous Republican developer. Democrats can expect to be able to pass on controversial bills and must walk a fine line between environment and agriculture. Water policy is paramount, as is urban sprawl, land-use planning, development fees, housing costs and transportation. **$$**

POTENTIAL BILLS: Groundwater contamination; easing restrictions on pesticides and herbicides; developer fees for building sewers, schools and streets; CalTrain funding; water-rights marketing; lowering the vote threshold required to pass a school bond.

District D (50% D - 29% R): One of the most scenic coastal areas in California, featuring tony resort communities such as Pebble Beach and Carmel. It is both wealthy and environmentally conscious. Voter registration isn't terrific for Democrats, making it fertile ground for moderate Republicans, one of whom represents the area in the state Senate. The district is home to the artichoke industry, as well as the Monterey Bay Aquarium and a University of California campus at Santa Cruz. Campaign money can be gleaned from Pebble Beach and Carmel, but a Democrat has to be able to golf or discuss trends in post-modern architecture. Democrats may get away with occasionally passing on tough bills. **$$$**

POTENTIAL BILLS: Fort Ord redevelopment funding; extension of a ban on offshore oil drilling; increased fees for development along state toll roads; the Highway 17 Improvement Act of 1999.



District E (82% D - 6% R): The entire Republican Party in this district can carpool to the state convention. Centered in downtown Los Angeles, it is roughly split between Latinos and African-Americans, two ethnic groups that jockey for power. There's little money within the district, but the solid base provides enormous freedom in Sacramento, allowing an incumbent to pursue lobbyists and others with access to cash cows. Campaign and financial support comes from left-leaning portions of the entertainment industry, eager to show its sensitivity to the plight of the poor and downtrodden. **$**

POTENTIAL BILLS: Increased funding for child-care ; tax exemptions for supermarkets that locate in redevelopment zones; funding for continued bilingual programs in targeted schools; tax credits for movies produced entirely in California; increased funding for adult education for new immigrants.

District F (45% D - 38% R): An Inland Empire battleground centered in the San Bernardino County cities of Ontario and Chino and including a smidgen of Pomona in Los Angeles County. GOP voter registration slipped dramatically during the late 1990s as many naturalized Latino immigrants joined the Democratic Party. Unemployment and crime are high, and Democrats hue to the center. They can expect to be permitted by party leadership to pass on most left-leaning bills, especially those dealing with abortion, welfare reform and public safety. There are many retirees in the district but virtually no money unless it comes from developers — always a risky source of cash for labor-friendly Democrats. **$**

POTENTIAL BILLS: Increased funding for nursing homes inspections; enhanced penalties for gang-related violence; funding for job-training programs for those displaced by military base closures; funding to establish Norton Air Force Base as a space shuttle museum.

District G (38% D - 39% R): With these registration numbers, this San Diego district should never fall to Democrats but never seems to vote Republican. There is a lot of money to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be mined here in Coronado, Imperial Beach, Mission Bay, Balboa Park and other slices of San Diego glitz. But the key is the large bloc of independents, and the fact that neither major party cracks 40 percent voter registration. A coastal district, environmental concerns are paramount here, as are developmental and urban growth issues. Democrats sometimes may take a pass on controversial bills, but leadership knows that honesty and forthrightness play well here and so occasionally demand that the incumbent toe the caucus line. **$$$$$$**

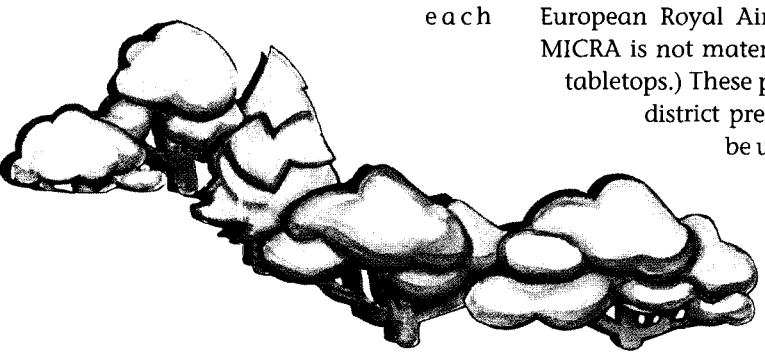
POTENTIAL BILLS: Ban on public money for facilities used by privately held sports franchises; funding for California National Guard on the Mexico-California border.

* * * * *

You've read about the districts. Now, choose one to represent and record its letter at the top of your *Legislative Director's* form, then circle the appropriate number of dollar signs on your *Treasurer's* form. Since this isn't Illinois, each participant must select a different district. Finally, choose the bill you want to push through the Legislature and record its title in the appropriate space on your *Legislative Director's* form. It must be one of the bills provided for each district. And remember, each bill is an "urgency bill," requiring super-majorities to pass each house — 54 votes in the Assembly and 27 in the Senate.

Chits:

Chits are a main currency of the Legislature, the grease that helps your bill move through the process. They involve mutual support among lawmakers for each others' bills, opening doors for colleagues with various special-interest groups, voting with the caucus on procedural maneuvers — especially when it may be detrimental to your political health, and contributing money to the caucus and to individual members. A member's public image also is important, especially back home in the district, thus the significance of press chits.



Various kinds of chits may be earned in a variety of ways:

•*Political Chits:* Earned for contributing campaign cash to the caucus larder, for backing bills and procedures sponsored by party leaders, for casting courageous votes that benefit the caucus or leadership or for serving on or chairing a controversial committee, such as public safety.

•*Elephant Chits:* Earned by bucking Democratic leaders and occasionally siding with Republicans on important bills or procedural maneuvers. One elephant chit may be earned in each house. Simply holding an elephant chit bestows certain benefits — and, of course, provides certain liabilities. The elephant chit, once acquired, affects committee votes in the house in which it was earned and does not have to be surrendered until a floor vote occurs on your bill.

•*Press Chits:* Earned for providing reporters with scoops or for serving as a reliable source on caucus activities or major policy squabbles. Members who can translate important policy debates into everyday English, or provide clear and concise explanations of the budget, education funding or revenue sharing by local government are invaluable. (For instance, it helps to know that ERAF does not mean the European Royal Air Force and that MICRA is not material used to cover tabletops.) These press chits refer to district press and thus may be useful for generating publicity for your bill — and putting pressure on various members to vote for your bill.

Determine your starting political chits:

• For being a Democrat — or a member of the majority party — earn 10 political chits.

• For having contributed to previous caucus election efforts, earn 8 political chits (applies only to players who selected districts B or E).

• For having stolen a district away from Republicans, earn 8 political chits (applies only to players who selected districts F or G).

How to earn more political chits:

As the game progresses, you can – and must – accumulate more and more chits, each of which comes with advantages and disadvantages. The rules and random events dictate how and where you earn (and spend) chits. Basically, you earn them by:

1. Dispensing campaign money.
2. Supporting legislation sponsored by leadership.
3. Casting votes for the good of caucus, regardless of political consequences.
4. Carrying controversial but necessary bills.

How to earn press chits:

No player begins with press chits and most of these are accumulated when random events are dictated by the game. Earn them by:

1. Leaking a story.
2. Providing pithy quotes on just about any subject.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3. Providing insider information on sensitive bills, debates, squabbles, political dirt.

4. Becoming a fount of information on the budget.

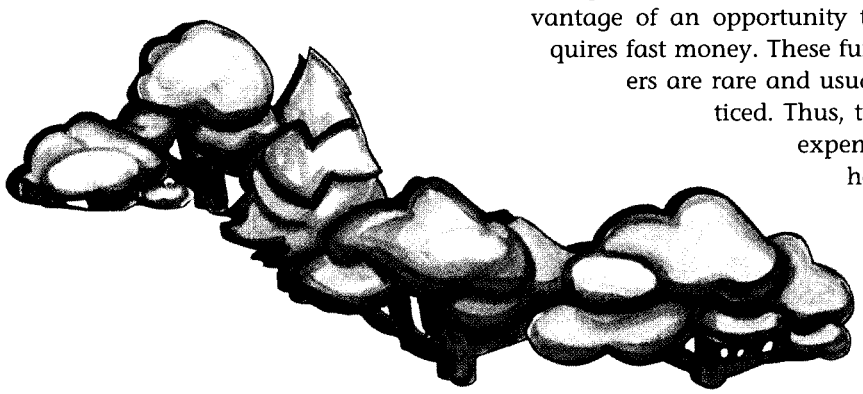
Money:

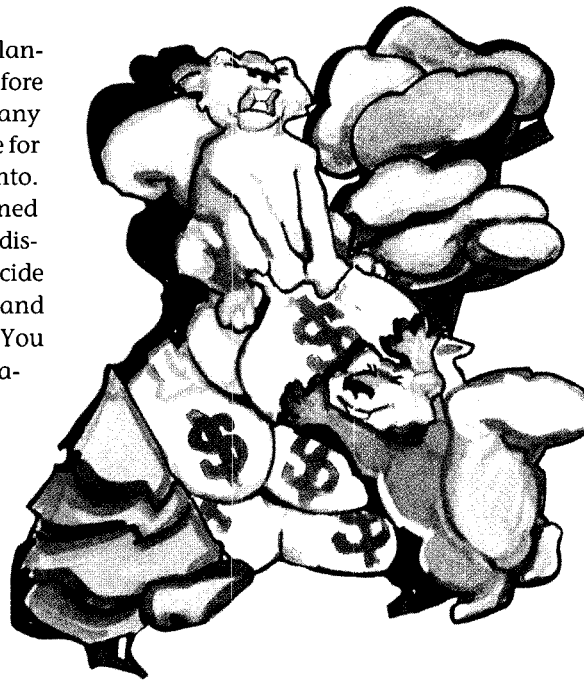
Money, as the late Speaker Jesse Unruh liked to say, is the mother's milk of politics – the commodity that drives and nurtures the system, the coin of the realm. To be an effective player and to accumulate clout, you need a healthy campaign treasury. Merit only goes so far. Without cash, not only will you not be able to help "persuade" your colleagues but you may find yourself targeted in the next election, either by Republicans or by an aggressive and impatient wannabe from your own party. To simplify the game, assume that you arrive in Sacramento with zero cash on hand — no surplus and no debt from your recent election.

All money is accounted for on *"My Campaign Treasurer"* form. Column 1 indicates the money you take in at various fund raisers. Column 2 records your expenditures. Column 3, called "cash-on-hand," reflects your available resources. The haul at a fund raiser is recorded in Column 1 and *added* to the balance in Column 3. Spending is recorded in Column 2 and *subtracted* from the balance in Column 3. The only money that may be used for legislative purposes is that in Column 3. Consider money transferred to the "special re-election kitty" (Column 2) untouchable.

Determine your fund raisers for the coming session:

Fund raisers are a matter of chance as well as planning. Take a moment now — before you begin — to determine how many events you will hold and the locale for each — the district or Sacramento. You are allowed up to 3 pre-planned Sacramento fund-raisers and 4 district events, although you may decide to be a good-government type and hold fewer than the maximum. You also may hold 1 impromptu Sacramento fund raiser to raise immediate cash. For pre-planned Sacramento events, timing is determined by the game: 1 before the Assembly policy committee hearing, 1 before the Senate policy committee hearing, 1 during the Budget.





- *Pre-planned Capitol fund raisers:* Decide in advance how many events you plan to hold and the ticket price for each ($500, $750 or $1,000). If you hold fewer than 3, decide at which pre-determined point each is scheduled. To determine how much you raised, follow the formula at the top of the treasurer's form. And remember, the more you charge for a ticket, the greater the haul but the greater the potential risk.

- *District fund raising events:* You may hold up to 4 whenever you wish. Simply declare that you are holding a local event, roll one 6-sided die, and pocket the change. To determine how much you raised, follow the formula at the top of your treasurer's form.

- *Impromptu Sacramento fund raiser:* You may hold 1 impromptu fund raiser. For a variety of reasons, you may need to organize an event on short notice to prop up a campaign account that has been too quickly or unexpectedly depleted or to take advantage of an opportunity that requires fast money. These fund raisers are rare and usually noticed. Thus, they are expensive. To hold one, you must expend 2 press chits and 2 political chits. If, however, you represent District E, you may hold 1 impromptu fund raiser without expending any political or press chits.

Random events:

As they say, things happen. Many situations arise during the course of a legislative year, and lawmakers have to deal with them. We've tried to accommodate these situations with a series of random events sprinkled throughout the game board. In group play, assume that the entire group arrives at each random event simultaneously. Some cards apply to all players, while others are specific to various districts. And since a few cards apply only to the person who selects them, decide in advance who will draw the first random event card, then move clockwise around the table for each subsequent card. Choose a card and follow the directions. If a decision is warranted, keep track of it on the "Oh, rats!" form.

Moving through the process:

Not everything proceeds smoothly in the Legislature. As a result, "The Capitol Game" is not a race among players. Move from event to event along the numbered board. Each number on the playing board corresponds to an instruction in the rules. The speaker should read aloud the procedure or rule at each stop.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PLEASE RAISE YOUR RIGHT HAND ...

Here you go, Mister/Madam Assembly member.

My bill is •insert the name of the bill• and record it with your legislative staff director.

☆1. ANNOUNCE YOUR INTENT – *Choose a method:*

a. Announce at a Sacramento press conference and earn 3 press chits.

b. Announce at a district press conference and earn 1 press chit.

c. Announce in caucus and earn 1 press and 1 political chit.

d. Announce privately to the speaker and earn 1 political chit.

2. LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL – *Draft the bill's language:*

Roll a 6-sided die. If the result is 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5, you're on your way. If the result is 6, your bill is so filled with legalese that it is unintelligible. Spend 1 political chit to have it re-drafted.

☆3. FLOOR ACTION

Republicans are grumpy over the way committee vice chairmanships were dispensed by Democrats and have challenged the procedure and the results on the floor. This is a more important vote than may be readily apparent. Be thoughtful.

a. Vote with Democratic leadership and earn 3 political chits.

b. Abstain and earn no political chits.

c. Vote with Republicans and forfeit 5 political chits, earn an Elephant Chit.

☆4. REQUEST YOUR COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

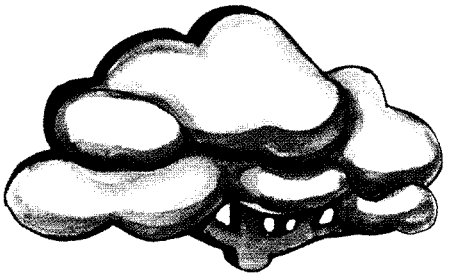
Each player is allotted 4 committees. Some committee assignments cost chits; others earn chits. You may request up to 3 assignments, and you determine them by choosing combinations of options "a" through "d" to follow. Your fourth committee is always "speaker's choice" but earns no chits (see option "e"). A member may serve on only one juice, or campaign contribution-generating,committee (options "b" and "c"), and may secure only one non-juice chairmanship (option "d"). Record your committees on your *Legislative Director* form. If you choose option "e," and opt for brownie points from the speaker, all of your assignments are recorded as "speaker's choices."

If you voted with Republicans in Square 3 (option "c"), DOUBLE the number of political chits needed to secure various committee assignments and HALVE the number of chits earned under option "a." In addition, option "e" to follow earns a TOTAL of 2 chits, rather than 2 chits per committee.

a. Volunteer for Public Safety Committee – earn 4 political chits; 6 if request chairmanship. If, however, you represent Districts B or E, you automatically are placed on Public Safety and earn only 1 political chit; 2 if request chairmanship. If more than one player requests the chairmanship of Public Safety, roll a 6-sided die. Highest number gets the post.

b. Demand Education Committee – expend 4 political chits (for fundraising purposes, consider Education a "juice" committee). If you have secured a seat on Education, you may not request another juice committee under option "c."

c. Ask for a spot on a quality juice committee: Governmental Organization, Insurance, Health, Appropriations, Transportation, Utilities and Commerce or Budget – expend 2 political chits per committee (roll die: 1,2,3 gets the spot; 4,5,6 doesn't. You lose the chits even if you fail to land the assignment. To ensure a spot, expend 4 political chits per committee).



d. Ask for a non-juice committee chairmanship – spend 2 political chits. If you are chairman of Public Safety (see option "a"), you may not secure another chairmanship.

e. Accept speaker's assignments – earn 2 political chits per committee for a total of 8 chits (you do not earn political chits, however, if you have played any other option except "a," in which case you earn 6 chits + Public Safety chits.) If you voted with Republicans at Square 3 (option "c"), you earn only 2 political chits TOTAL for accepting this option.

☆5. INTRODUCE THE BILL – *Choose a method:*

a. Floor speech (show flair and wit – earn 1 press chit).

b. Quietly give your bill to the Assembly clerk.

c. Ask for a special bill number (for example: AB1, AB 1776) – spend 1 political chit.

d. Press conference (earn 1 press chit. May be used in conjunction with 5-a or 5-c).

6. **Random event**

Only one player can pick up a card at each Random Event square. Take turns doing this as you reach the Randow Event squares.

7. ASSEMBLY RULES COMMITTEE

The Rules Committee decides which policy committee will hear your bill. If you introduced your bill on the floor and employed option 5-a, spend 1 political chit to mollify the crusty chairman of Rules. If you also employed 5-d, spend 1 more political chit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

8. Random Event

9. POLICY COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT

If you announced your bill intent using options 1-a, -b or -c, the policy committee chairman has objected to the title of your bill and it will cost you 1 political chit to have a date set for a hearing on your bill. If you used option 1-d, the chairwoman has assigned her best policy consultant to work with you; earn 1 additional political chit.

☆10. SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP – *(Choose one)*

Lobbyists representing a special interest targeted by your bill ask for a meeting to discuss their reservations and concerns with certain aspects of your bill prior to its hearing before the policy committee.

You:

a. Hear them out but commit to nothing.

1. Earn an extra $5,000 from them during your first Sacramento fund raiser.

b. Agree to take amendments that eviscerate a major provision.

1. Earn an extra $25,000 from them during your first Sacramento fund raiser.

2. Lose 2 press chits. (If you have yet to earn press chits, lose 1 political chit).

c. Blame an overbooked schedule and decline to meet with them prior to the hearing.

1. Earn an extra $1,000 from them during your first Sacramento fund raiser.

d. Ask the speaker for advice.

1. Earn 1 political chit.

2. Roll a 6-sided die:

• Result of 1,2,3: speaker recommends "a".

• Result of 4,5,6: speaker recommends "c".

e. Call a press conference to denounce the interference of a special interest.

1. Earn 1 press chit.

2. Earn an extra $5,000 from their opponents during your first Sacramento fund raiser.

11. HOLD YOUR FIRST CAPITOL FUND RAISER

This is your first opportunity to hold a Sacramento fund raiser. If you have scheduled three, you must hold the first one now. If you have scheduled one or two, you may pass at this point.

a. Roll a 6-sided die and bank the result – see rules to determine the size of your haul

b. Adjustments:

1. If you paid the price at Square 4-b or -c and secured a seat on a juice committee, *double* your haul.

2. If you represent District E, add $20,000 from a friendly cadre of lobbyists

3. Add earnings from Square 10.

4. If, however, your meeting with the special interest group (Square 10) resulted in "e," multiply your fundraiser ticket price x 2 and *subtract* the total (after adding in the $5,000 from their opponents).

12. **Random Event**

☆13. POLICY COMMITTEE HEARING (Committee membership: 17. 11 D, 6 R. 9 votes required for passage). *(Begin with 6 Democratic votes and 0 Republican votes committed. Then consult your Legislative Director. If at Step 3, you chose "a," add 2 Democratic votes. If you chose "c," subtract 3 Democratic votes and show your Elephant Chit to add 5 Republican votes. Choose among the following options to obtain the additional vote(s) required to move your bill out of committee.)*

a. Drum up press coverage – spend 2 press chits and pick up 1 Democratic vote.

b. Democratic committee analysis provides tepid support – spend 1 political chit per each additional Democratic vote.

c. Republican committee analysis recommends "oppose" unless certain labor provisions are struck from bill — spend 3 political chits per GOP vote if you want a bipartisan flavor.

d. Agree to vote for a Democratic colleague's bill that potentially could cost your district redevelopment money; add the colleague's vote but spend 1 press chit and transfer $5,000 to a district foundation raising money for playground equipment. If you have no press chits, transfer $7,500 to the foundation by subtracting the amount from cash on hand.

e. *Random Event* Card adjustments (These kick in if you have drawn corresponding cards):

Card 9: Add 2 GOP votes if you agreed to co-sponsor the resolution

Card 11: (District A only): spend 3 political chits just to get a hearing if you agreed to help the lumber company

f. Record your vote in the *Vote Box* for Assembly Policy Committee. If you don't have 9 votes, you may fold your tent and exit the game or ask for reconsideration.

☆14. PUBLIC SAFETY HEARING (applies only if you sit on The Public Safety Committee; otherwise skip this.)

You must decide whether to vote the party line on two bills on the docket: GOP-sponsored Bill "A" makes it harder to add additional weapons to the assault-weapon ban. Democratic Bill "B" restricts application of the death penalty and seeks to narrow 3-strikes offenses to violent crimes.

a. Vote the Democratic caucus recommendation on both bills (oppose "A;" support "B") – refer to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

following chart to determine the cost or benefit:

1. Districts A, C, F, G: Earn 5 political chits and subtract $25,000 from Column 3 and place it in the special re-election kitty.

2. Districts B, E: Earn 1 political chit.

3. District D: Earn 3 political chits and subtract $15,000 from Column 3 and place it in the special re-election kitty.

b. Vote the GOP caucus recommendation (support "A;" oppose "B") – spend 3 political chits, donate $40,000 to the Democratic Caucus and earn an Elephant Chit.

c. Develop a migraine and miss the hearing – refer to the following numbers to determine the cost:

1. Districts A, C, F, G: Subtract $25,000 from Column 3 and place it in the special re-election kitty.

2. Districts B, E: Spend 3 political chits and donate $25,000 to caucus leadership.

3. District D: Subtract $15,000 from Column 3 and place it in the special re-election kitty.

15. POLICY COMMITTEE

If your bill failed in Square 13, don't despair. It's time for reconsideration. Repeat the steps for Square 13. If you still don't have 9 votes, you again may fold your tent, spend a few more chits to grease it through or ask for reconsideration.

16. Random Event

☆17. APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

(Committee membership: 20. 13 D, 7 R. 11 votes required for passage).

(Begin with 8 Democrats and 0 Republicans committed. If, at any point, you have earned an Elephant Chit, add 5 Republicans and subtract 3 Democrats.)

a. Drum up press coverage – expend 2 press chits and pick up 1 Democratic vote.

b. Spend 1 political chit per Democratic vote or donate $15,000 to caucus leadership for each vote.

c. If you represent districts A, C, D, F or G AND you voted with leadership in Square 14, add 2 Democratic votes. If you represent districts B or E and did not vote with leadership in Square 14, subtract 3 Democrats. Your bill has now moved to the "suspense file." Spend 10 political chits OR contribute $25,000 to the caucus to have it removed and placed back on the calendar. Then, spend 1 additional chit per needed Democratic vote, beginning with 2. Or, you may donate $10,000 to the campaigns of EACH Democrat whose vote you require and not spend any political chits.

d. Republican committee analysis continues to recommend "oppose." If, however, you have obtained an Elephant Chit, then the analysis is changed to "neutral," and you may add 5 GOP votes. Otherwise, you must spend 3 political chits per GOP vote if you still want bipartisan support.

e. *Random Event* Card adjustments (provided they have been drawn):

Card 17: subtract 2 Democratic votes if you talked on-the-record

f. Record your vote in the Vote Box for Assembly Appropriations. If you don't have 11 votes, you may fold your tent and exit the game or ask for reconsideration.

☆18. FLOOR MANEUVER

Republicans attempt to remove a stalled bill from the Public Safety Committee. It would more loosely apply the death penalty for certain felonies.

a. Vote with Democratic leadership and:

1. Districts B, E: Earn 1 political chit

2. Districts A, C, D, G: Earn 3 political chits and subtract $5,000 from Column 3 and place it in the special re-election kitty.

3. District F: Earn 5 political chits and subtract $15,000 from Column 3 and place it in the special re-election kitty.

b. Abstain and earn no political chits

c. Vote with Republicans, earn an Elephant Chit but forfeit 5 political chits and your juice committee assignment.

☆19. APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

If your bill moved out of Appropriations in Square 17, proceed directly to Square 20. Otherwise, your bill is up for reconsideration. 11 votes still are required to pass out; 8 Democrats and 0 Republicans are committed.

a. Seek specialized press coverage in Central Valley – spend 2 press chits, add 2 Democratic votes.

b. Record your vote in the Vote Box (you'd better have 11 votes or the game is over for you).

20. SECOND READING

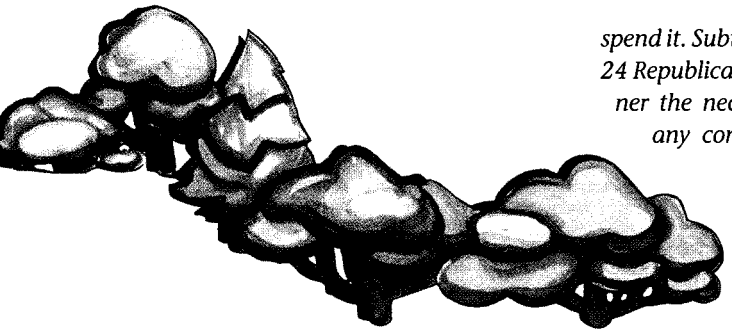
Your bill is read for the second time on the floor.

☆21. CONVENTION SPEECH

The most powerful special interest group affected by your bill has invited you to give a keynote speech its annual Legislative Day luncheon.

a. Laud their efforts and add

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



$25,000 to your campaign treasury

b. Give a defiant speech, earn 3 press chits and 1 political chit, add $5,000 to your campaign treasury from their opponents

c. Give a balanced, reasoned speech, earn 2 press chits, add $2,000 to your campaign treasury.

☆**22.** FLOOR MANEUVER

Conservative Republicans threaten to add hostile amendments to your bill. If you own an Elephant Chit, the threat is avoided. You may skip past this step and proceed to Floor Debate at Square 23. If you do not own an Elephant Chit, roll a 6-sided die. On a roll of 1,2,3 or 4, internal squabbling fractures the GOP caucus and the threat fizzles. Proceed to the Floor Debate at Square 23. However, on a roll of 5 or 6, the threat becomes reality. You must now deal with the attempt:

a. If you did ALL OF THE FOLLOWING: voted with leadership at Square 3 AND accepted an assignment to Public Safety or the speaker's committee assignments at Square 4 AND voted caucus recommendations at Square 14 AND Square 18, the amendments are defeated. If you have contributed at least $50,000 to caucus leadership, the amendments are defeated. Otherwise, expend 4 political chits to beat back the attempt.

b. If *Random Event* Card #9 has been drawn and you *refused* to co-sponsor the resolution, the amendments are automatically defeated.

☆**23.** FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Full house: 80. 47 D, 32 R, 1 G. 54 votes required for passage

Your bill is read for the third time on the floor, debated and voted upon by the full house. Begin with 44 Democrats and 0 Republicans. If at any point you have earned an Elephant Chit, you must now spend it. Subtract 24 Democrats and add 24 Republicans. You may attempt to garner the necessary votes by employing any combination of the following tactics:

a. If you spent the necessary political chits—over and above an Elephant Chit—and garnered support from at least one additional Republican during either the Policy (Square 13) or Appropriations Committee (Square 17) vote, add 4 more Republican votes.

b. To acquire additional Democratic votes, transfer $2,000 to each Democrat whose vote you seek.

c. To acquire additional GOP votes:

1. Agree to vote with individual Republicans on their non-controversial bills. Spend 2 political chits for each GOP vote.

2. Drum up press coverage to show how your bill will impact selected GOP-held districts. Spend 3 press chits to organize a press conference and 1 political chit for each GOP district you've identified to the press.

3. Agree to vote with GOP caucus leadership on several controversial GOP-sponsored bills. Add 32 GOP votes and subtract 40 Democratic votes. Spend $10,000 to regain EACH additional Democratic vote, and retrieve any money that you may have placed in the special re-election kitty, adding it to Column 3.

d. To acquire the Green Party vote, co-sponsor a resolution encouraging additional funding to the University of California, Davis, for research on organic farming techniques; spend 1 political chit (before you spend the chit, however, see the Random Card adjustments below).

e. *Random Event* adjustments (provided they have been drawn):

Card 9: If you signed the resolution, add 4 GOP votes.

Card 11: If you represent District A and helped the lumber company, you may not acquire the Green Party vote; if you refused, add the Green Party vote.

Card 16: If you remained neutral, add 1 Democratic vote; if you opposed, subtract 1 Democratic vote.

Card 18: If you called and were identified as the source, spend 3 political chits or subtract 5 Democratic votes.

Card 20: If you represent District D and agreed to carry the 17-Mile Drive Toll Bill, you may never acquire the Green Party vote; if you refused, add the Green Party vote.

f. Record your vote in the Vote Box, Assembly Floor. If you reached 54 votes, congratulations! Your bill has moved out of the Assembly. If you are short of 54 votes, you may ask for reconsideration or fold your tent and start over next year.

THE SENATE

☆**24.** FIND A FLOOR JOCKEY

You must find a member of the Senate to shepherd your bill through the upper house. Given that this is not merely a district bill but something broader with wide-ranging impact, you may not take for granted support from and aid of your local senator.

a. Ask the senator in whose district you are nested and expend chits

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

according to the following table:

1. Districts A, B, C, E, G: no cost.

2. Districts D, F: spend 3 political chits (he is a Republican).

b. Ask the chairman of the policy committee that will hear the bill: spend 2 chits.

c. Ask a member of the policy committee that will hear the bill: spend 1 chit.

d. Ask the pro tem or Democratic caucus chairman: spend 4 chits.

e. Ask a Republican: spend 4 chits (Districts D, F — this is for a Republican other than the one who may represent your district).

25. Random event

26. SENATE RULES COMMITTEE

If you announced your bill using option a, the president pro tempore of the Senate, who chairs Rules, is concerned over your overt ambition. Spend 2 political chits or contribute $10,000 to Senate Democrats. If, however, the pro tem is your floor jockey, ignore the penalty.

☆27. SENATE POLICY COMMITTEE

Committee membership: 9; 5 Democrats, 4 Republicans. 5 votes needed to pass.

You have the support of all Democrats — unless:

a. If you did not hold an impromptu fund raiser, your bill is passed out of committee. To avoid having it be amended, however, spend 25 political chits per Democrat and 50 per Republican. Since it is virtually impossible to have accumulated that many chits, your bill likely will be amended — after all, your legislation promises to change the world and special interest lobbyists are crawling all over committee members, expending *their* political chits. You may now record your vote in the Vote Box, Senate Policy Committee and proceed to Square 28.

b. If, however, you have held an impromptu fund raiser in Sacramento at any time during the game, roll the 6-sided die. If you roll 3, 4, 5 or 6, your bill is passed out of committee after being amended. If you rolled a 1 or 2, your impromptu gathering fell on the same day as the Sacramento winging organized by the chair of this policy committee. If you want to have a hearing set for your bill, choose one of the following options, then proceed to "c":

1. Blame the snafu on staff and expend 3 political chits to have a hearing.

2. Take personal responsibility for the mistake and spend 2 political chits.

3. Blow off the conflict as inconsequential, spend 0 political chits.

c. You may only count on Democratic votes if you chose options 1 or 2 above. In addition, you mult spend 1 additional political chit on the chairman to secure enough support to pass your bill. If, however, you chose option 3, your bill has been moved to the Suspense File. Expend 4 chits to have it removed, 1 chit to have it scheduled for hearing and 1 chit for the chairman to secure enough support to pass out of the committee. It is amended prior to passage, however, and no amount of chits will avoid that situation.

d. Record your vote in the Vote Box, Senate Policy Committee

28. HOLD YOUR SECOND CAPITAL FUND RAISER

If you scheduled at least one Sacramento fund raiser, this is your second opportunity to gorge your campaign coffers. If you scheduled three events, you must hold your second fund raiser now. If you scheduled one or two, you may hold an event.

a. Roll a 6-sided die, record the result in Column 1 and add the amount to Column 3.

b. Adjustments:

1. If you paid the price at Square 4-b or 4-c to secure a seat on a juice committee, *and still sit on that committee,* increase your haul by $10,000.

2. If you represent District E and this is your first fund raiser, add $20,000 from a friendly cadre of lobbyists. If it is your second fund raiser, add $10,000.

3. If this is your first fund raiser, add earnings from Square 10. If it is your second fund raiser, you've

milked them dry. Add nothing more.

29. Random event

30. SENATE APPROPRIATIONS

Well, here you are in front of another Appropriations Committee. It is nearing the deadline for passing legislation, and the committee calendar is chock full of pending bills. Unfortunately, your bill promises sweeping change and thus is likely to receive the committee's full attention. There are 13 members of the committee, 8 Democrats and 5 Republicans. You need 7 votes to pass. You have 7 Democrats and 0 Republicans.

a. If by some miracle, you were able to avoid having your bill amended in the Senate policy committee (Square 27) by spending the necessary chits, it was a wasted effort. The bill will be tweaked just enough in this committee to ensure that it goes to conference at the end of the process. To avoid this situation, contribute $100,000 to the Senate pro tem, $50,000 to the chairman of Senate Appropriations and $10,000 to each Democratic member.

b. If your bill was amended in the policy committee, Appropriations will not fuss with it in any major way.

c. *Random Event* Card 10: If Random Card 10 has been drawn and you represent Districts E, F and G *and* you endorsed your pal, you must spend 2 political chits to gain a hearing date before the committee will approve your bill.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

d. Record your vote in the Vote Box, Senate Appropriations

31. SECOND READING

☆32. STATE BUDGET

After a delay of some weeks, the state budget finally has reached the floor of the Assembly for a vote. This is the final version, worked out among the governor and legislative leaders in closed-door meetings of the "Big 5" and already approved by the two-house conference committee. If you secured a seat on Budget, you may choose to become a fount of inside information on the budget. If you so choose, earn 3 press chits. But spend 1 political chit to appease Democratic leaders, who think you're a little too brazen for a rookie. How do you vote on the Budget?

a. Vote AYE and earn 3 political chits.

b. Vote NO and earn an Elephant Chit but forfeit your juice committee assignment and any chairmanship you may hold, including Public Safety.

c. Hold out because . . . (Earn 1 press chit).

1. District A . . .there is no money for reforestation projects.

2. District B . . . funding for Bay Bridge retrofit was eliminated.

3. District C . . . there is money for San Diego water projects but none for your district.

4. District D. . . there is a reduction in funding for CSU-Ft. Ord

5. District E . . . there again is no money for a Metro station in your district.

6. District F . . . money for military conversion was eliminated in the final version

7. District G . . . budget for the Coastal Commission was reduced.

d. If you held out, roll a 6-sided die. A result of 1,2,3,4,5 means the budget was approved in the Assembly without your vote and you are recorded as ABSTAINED. A roll of 6 means it is tied up in the Assembly, awaiting at least one dissenter to switch votes and approve it. You may change your vote at this point to AYE or be recorded as ABSTAINED.

e. My vote on the Budget was (circle one): AYE NO ABSTAIN

33. HOLD YOUR THIRD CAPITAL FUND RAISER

If you scheduled at least one Sacramento fund raiser, this is your third and final opportunity to hold a scheduled event. If you scheduled three events, you must hold your third fund raiser now. If you scheduled one or two, you may hold an event. In addition, you may decide to cancel this event. To do this, you must hold a press conference and cite the corrupting influence of money in politics.

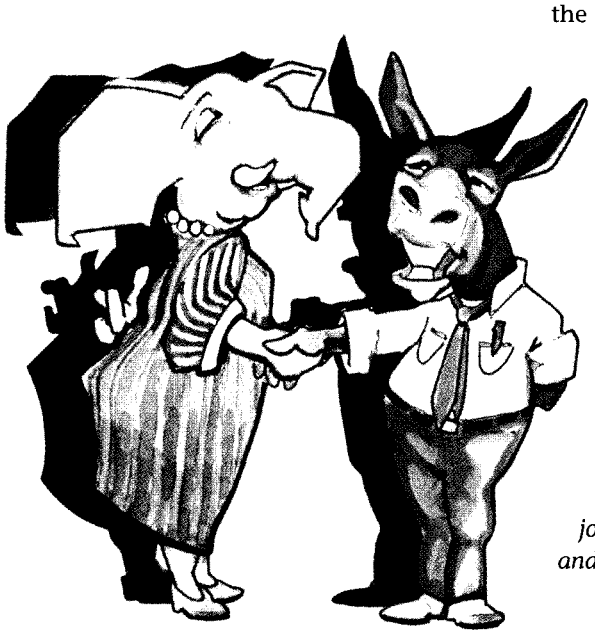
a. Roll a 6-sided die, record the result in Column 1 and add the amount to Column 3.

b. Adjustments:

1. District E: add $20,000 from a friendly cadre of lobbyists.

2. If you serve on Assembly Budget: add $10,000 to your haul. If the budget has not yet passed, add $20,000.

3. Cancel the event: earn 2 press chits.



34. THIRD READING, FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Senate membership: 40. 25 Democrats, 15 Republicans. 27 votes required for passage.

As in the Assembly, your bill is read for the third time on the floor, debated and voted upon by the full Senate. You begin with 22 Democrats and 1 Republican. If, however, the pro tem is your floor jockey, you have 25 Democratic votes and 1 Republican.

a. If you held out on the budget (Square 32), subtract 2 Democratic votes for having miffed the pro tem, even if he is your jockey.

b. If you spent the necessary political chits over and above an Elephant Chit — and garnered support from at least one Republican during the bill's journey through the Assembly, add 1 Republican vote.

c. To acquire additional GOP votes, you may:

1. Agree to vote with individual Republicans on their non-controversial bills. Spend 2 political chits for each GOP vote.

2. Drum up press coverage to show how your bill will impact selected GOP-held districts. Expend 3 press chits to set up the press conference and 1 political chit for each GOP vote from districts identified to the press.

3. Agree to vote with GOP caucus leadership on several controversial GOP-sponsored bills. Add 15 GOP votes and subtract 20 Democratic votes. In addition, the pro tem drops your bill so you must spend 2 additional chits to round up another floor jockey. Then, spend $30,000 to regain EACH additional Democratic vote.

d. To acquire the support of additional Democrats, spend 1 political chit per Democratic vote.

e. Record your vote in the Vote Box, Senate Floor. If you reached 27 votes, congratulations! Your bill has moved out of the Senate. If you are short of 27 votes, you may ask for reconsideration or fold your tent and start over next year.

35. Random event

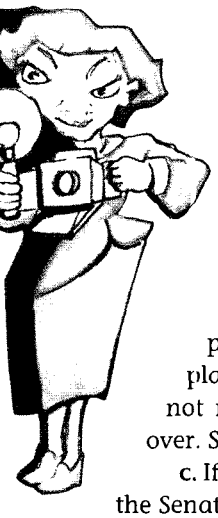
36. BACK TO THE ASSEMBLY

Your bill has passed the Senate and now must return to the Assembly for concurrence.

a. If you avoided having your bill amended in the Senate AND voted for the budget, the Assembly concurs and your bill goes to the governor.

b. If you avoided having your bill amended in the Senate and either voted against the budget or abstained, your bill is re-referred to policy committee. Spend 50 political chits and contribute $100,000 to caucus leadership — un-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



less you represent Districts F and G, in which case the Assembly concurs and your bill goes to the governor. If you cannot afford the chits or cash, your bill has been re-referred to the policy committee and placed on suspense. You may not remove it. Your game is over. See you next year.

c. If your bill was amended in the Senate, the Assembly does not concur. The bill is assigned to a conference committee.

37. Random event — do not draw a card; it's a sting.

The FBI has called a press conference to announce the results of a sting operation during which undercover agents, posing as out-of-state businessmen, attempted to bribe certain legislators. All players must spend $10,000 from their cash on hand for a district poll. If you currently have more than $40,000 in your re-election kitty, consider your "approval rating" under 50%. Transfer another $25,000 from your cash on hand to your re-election kitty to bolster that account. In addition, if you are holding Random Event card 5 and *supported the bill* in exchange for a $20,000 campaign contribution, consider yourself indicted. Transfer your entire treasury balance to your special re-election kitty, forfeit all press chits, forfeit any unplayed Elephant Chit, and subtract all GOP votes and 15 Democratic votes. If you *politely refused*, there is no effect. If you *called the FBI*, agents release that information. Add 4 press chits, reclaim all money placed in the special re-election kitty and add it to Column 3, and move your bill out of conference committee on a 6-0 vote.

38. CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

Because your bill was changed in the Senate, the Assembly refused concurrence and the two versions must be reconciled in a conference committee. The bipartisan membership of the conference committee is comprised of 4 Democrats and 2 Republicans (2 Democrats and 1 Republican from each of the Senate and Assembly policy committees through which your bill passed). Four votes are required to get the bill out of this committee. You already have 4 Democratic votes — but so far you have no Republican votes.

a. Add 1 Republican vote if:

1. You cashed in an Elephant Chit on either floor, *plus* spent additional political chits to attract additional GOP votes on the Assembly floor (add 1 GOP vote)

2. You attracted at least 10 GOP votes on the Assembly Floor without cashing in an Elephant Chit.

3. You attracted at least 5 GOP votes on the Senate Floor without cashing in an Elephant Chit.

b. Earn additional GOP votes by paying 4 political chits per vote.

c. If you voted NO on the budget in Square 32 and do not represent Districts F or G, you're in the wrong room. Your bill has been re-referred to its original policy committee which has no plans to deal with it until after you are termed out.

39. CONCURRENCE FLOOR VOTES

If your bill was reported out of the conference committee, the committee report — in essence, your bill — now must be voted on by both houses. You must secure 54 votes in the Assembly and 27 votes in the Senate. Concentrate on the Assembly. If you round up the necessary votes there, the Senate will concur.

a. If your bill comes out of the conference committee on a 6-0 vote, both houses concur and your bill is sent to the governor.

b. If your bill came out of the conference committee with only 4 votes, you have 47 Democratic votes and 1 Green Party vote (provided you are eligible for a Green Party vote)

c. You must now attract 6 (or 7, depending on your standing with the Greens) GOP votes. GOP votes may be obtained according to the following chart:

1. If you represent Districts B or E: spend 1 political chit per GOP vote.

2. If you represent districts A, C, D, F, G:

A. spend 1 political chit per GOP vote *until you reach* 52.

B. spend 2 political chits for vote number 53.

C. spend 3 political chits for vote number 54.

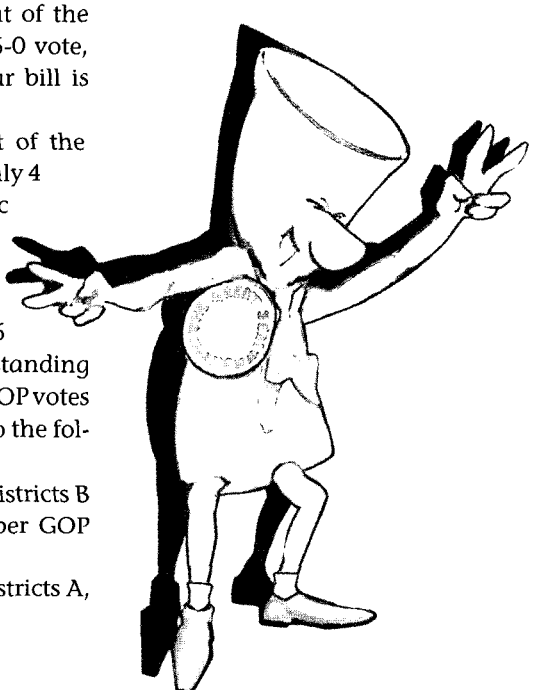
d. Record your vote in Vote Box, Concurrence Report, Assembly Floor. If you reached 54 votes in the Assembly, the Senate will provide 27. Congratulations! Your bill is on its way to the governor's desk.

40. TO THE GOVERNOR

The governor has three choices. He may sign your bill, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. If you voted for the budget without holding out, the governor signs it in his office and allows you to invite a photographer to the ceremony. If you voted for the budget but held out for a time, the governor signs your bill in the dead of night with no fanfare. If you voted against the budget or abstained – even if you represent Districts F or G – consider your bill vetoed. Better luck next year.

Did you win?

So, how well did you do? Was your bill vetoed? Did you end up with a lot of money? Are you broke but ecstatic over the governor's signature? Next month, we'll tell you whether you won or lost, and like everything else in the *The Capitol Game*, the results aren't obvious.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPEAKER'S AGENDA

(In group play, one player is designated "speaker" and dispenses chits that have been earned and retrieves those that have been forfeited or spent. The speaker also informs other players of the consequences of decisions required by *Random Event* cards. Find the number below that corresponds to the number on the *Random Event* card, then dish out the benefits or penalties. The speaker also is responsible for consequences meted out to members based on their Budget vote. Consult the special section at the end of this chart to see what happens to those who vote AYE, NO or ABSTAIN.)

***Random Card* results**

1. Support the speaker: Earn 3 political chits.

Oppose the speaker: Forfeit 1 political chit and subtract $2,000 from each Sacramento fund raiser.

2. Yes: Earn 2 political chits but spend 1 press chit to fend off trouble at home.

No: Spend 2 political chits to mollify caucus leadership.

3. Help: Earn 2 press chits

Duck it: Forfeit all press chits and transfer $30,000 from your cash on hand to your re-election kitty for the next primary. If you have yet to hold a fund raiser, transfer the cash when it becomes available.

4. Agree: Double the number of political chits required at each step; add $250,000 to your cash on hand.

Disagree: Earn 2 press chits; add $50,000 to your cash on hand.

9. Sign: Ad 2 GOP votes in Assembly policy committee, 4 on the Assembly floor (if your bill is in the senate, add 1 GOP vote in committee, 2 on the floor). Districts B, D and E, however, must contribute $20,000 to Democratic leadership. District B also forfeits all press chits and must transfer $50,000 from your cash on hand to your re-election kitty in anticipation of a primary challenge.

Refuse to sign: Districts A, C, F G automatically fend off GOP attempts to add hostile amendments on the Assembly floor. District B: earn 1 press chit. Districts D and E: No effect.

10. Endorse: spend 2 extra political chits in Senate Appropriations.

Don't endorse: subtract $5,000 from the take at next district fund raiser.

11. Agree: add $5,000 contribution to cash on hand, spend 3 additional political chits when your bill appears before either Assembly or Senate Natural Resources Committee and 2 press chits to explain it back home. If you have no press chits, transfer $10,000 from your cash on hand to your special re-election kitty to fend off a primary challenge. In addition, you may never acquire the Green Party vote.

Disagree: Add 2 Democratic votes when your bill appears in either the Assembly or Senate Natural Resources Committees, transfer $20,000 from your cash on hand to your re-election kitty in anticipation of a strong GOP challenge. Add the Green Party floor vote.

12. Agree: Earn 1 press chit

Refuse: Forfeit all press chits, halve the take at your next 2 district fundraisers and transfer $50,000 from your cash on hand to your re-election kitty in anticipation of a primary challenge.

15. Stand firm: If you have not already secured your district senator as your Senate handler, you may not now do so and must find another senator to carry the bill. In addition, you must spend 1 political chit to win back your senator's vote on the Senate floor. Add $2,500 to your cash on hand.

Agree: For Districts A, B, D, E and G, add 1 Democratic vote on the Senate floor and transfer $10,000 from your cash on hand to "other members." For Districts C and F, add 2 GOP votes on the Senate floor and transfer $25,000 from your cash on hand to other members.

16. Commit: No effect.

Remain neutral: Gain 1 Democratic vote on Assembly floor only.

Oppose: Lose 1 Democratic vote on Assembly floor only.

Duck: No effect.

17. On the record: Earn 2 press chits each time the budget is up for a vote in the Assembly and Senate. Subtract 2 Democratic votes when your bill is up in Assembly Appropriations.

Off the record: Earn 1 press chit each time the budget is up for a vote in both the Assembly and Senate.

No comment: Forfeit 3 press chits, if available.

18. Call him: Roll two 6-sided dice. Any result between 3 and 12 means you earn 2 press chits. If, however, the result is snake eyes, you unintentionally are identified as the source of the tidbit and must spend 3 political chits or subtract 5 Democratic votes on the Assembly floor.

Don't call: No effect.

19. Support the bill: Districts A, C, D, F and G: earn 2 political chits and add $10,000 from the California Federation of Labor at your next Sacramento fund raiser. Districts B and E: earn no political chits and add $5,000 from the California Federation of Labor at your next Sacramento fund raiser.

Oppose the bill: Districts A, C, D, F and G: earn no political chits and add $2,000 from various sources at your next district fund raiser. Districts B and E: spend 5 political chits to mollify labor and Democratic leadership.

20. Agree: Double the take at your next district fund raiser but forfeit Green Party support.

Refuse: Transfer $50,000 from your cash on hand to your special re-election kitty. Add Green Party support.

22. AYE: Earn 3 political chits, add $5,000 from the trial lawyers, transfer $25,000 from your cash on hand to your special re-election kitty.

NAY: Spend 2 political chits, subtract $5,000 from your take at *each* fund raiser — including retroactively for fund raisers already held (a check can be cancelled, you know), and tranfer half of the balance in your special re-election kitty to your cash on hand.

***Budget votes* (hold outs):**

1. If you held out AND subsequently voted AYE, roll the 6-sided die. If you roll a 1, you cast the 54th and deciding vote — at 4:57 AM. Earn 5 political chits and 2 press chits.

2. If you held out and voted NAY, earn 10 press chits and an Elephant Chit, forfeit juice comittee assignment and chairmanships.

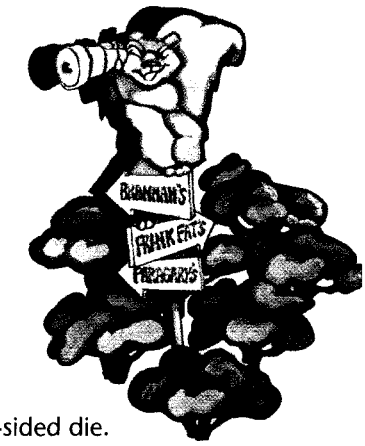
3. If you held out and ABSTAINED, spend 2 press chits to explain it in the district, forfeit juice committee assignment and chairmanships, and earn an Elephant Chit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Each player must have this form in hand, so copy it before you play the game)

MY CAMPAIGN TREASURER

(Keeping track of fund raising)



HOW TO CALCULATE YOUR TAKE

• *For each pre-planned Capitol fund raiser:* Determine how much you raised by rolling a 6-sided die. If you charged $500 per ticket, multiply the die roll by $10,000. If you charged $750 a ticket, multiply the die roll by $15,000. If you charged $1,000 a ticket, multiply the die roll by $20,000. (For example, if you charged $750 and rolled a 4, your base take would be $60,000.) In addition, the rules specify certain adjustments based on committee assignments and other decisions made along the way.

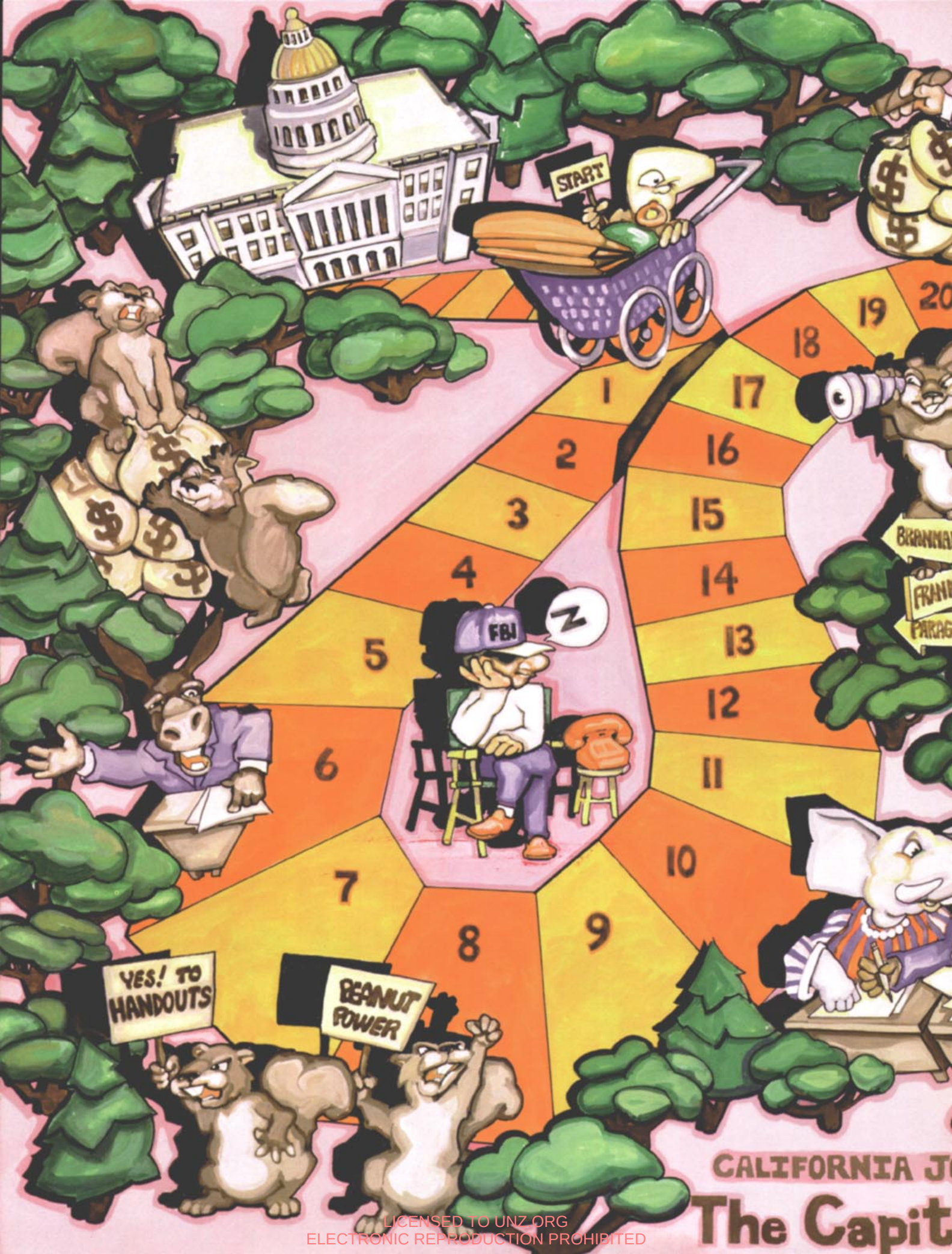
• *For each district fund raiser:* Determine how much you raised by rolling a 6-sided die. Multiply the die roll by $1,000, then multiply that result by the number of "$" in your district description.

The number of "$" for my district is (circle the appropriate number): **1 2 3 4 5 6 7**

• *For an impromptu fund raiser:* Determine how much you raised by rolling two 6-sided dice. Multiply the result by $5,000.

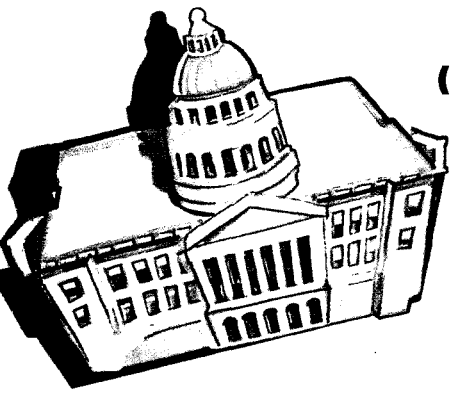
Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
WHAT I TOOK IN:	**WHAT I SPENT:**	**CASH-ON-HAND:**
Scheduled Sacramento fund raisers:	**Special re-election kitty:**	
1. Price:_____	1. _____	
Take:_____	2. _____	
	3. _____	
2. Price:_____	4. _____	
Take:_____	5. _____	
	6. _____	
3. Price:_____	**To Caucus leadership:**	
Take:_____	1. _____	
	2. _____	
Impromptu Sacramento fund raiser:	3. _____	
1. _____	4. _____	
	5. _____	
	6. _____	
District fund raisers:	**To other members:**	
1. _____	1. _____	
2. _____	2. _____	
3. _____	3. _____	
4. _____	4. _____	

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



(Each player must have this form in hand, so copy it before you play the game)

MY LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

(Keeping track of decisions)

DISTRICT LETTER: ___ (voter registration __ D, __ R)

BILL TITLE: _____

The Process (game board spaces 1-40):

The Assembly	The Senate
Square 1: Announcement a__ b__ c__ d__	Square 24: Handler a__ b__ c__ d__ e__
Square 3: Floor Action a__ b__ c__	Square 27: Policy Committee a__ b1__ b2__ b3__ c__ d__
Square 4: Committees a__ b__ c__ d__ e__ Committees: _____ _____ _____ _____	Square 30: Senate Appropriations a__ b__ NA __
Square 5: Introduction a__ b__ c__ d__	Square 32: State Budget (Assembly) a__ b__ **Budget Vote: Aye__ Nay__ Abstain__**
Square 10: Special Interest Group a__ b__ c__ d__ e__	Square 34: Senate Floor a__ b__ c1__ c2__ c3__ d__
Square 13: Policy Committee a__ b__ c__ d__	Square 35: a__ b__ c__
Square 14: Public Safety vote a__ b__ c__ NA__	Square 38: Conference Committee a1__ a2__ a3__ b__
Square 15: Policy Reconsideration a__ b__ c__ d__ NA__	Square 39: Concurrence a__ b__ c__ d__
Square 17: Appropriations a__ b__ c__ d__	Square 40: The Governor Signs ____ Vetoes ____
Square 18: GOP Floor Maneuver a__ b__ c__	
Square 19: Appropriations Reconsideration a__ b__ c__ d__ NA__	
Square 21: Convention speech a__ b__ c__	
Square 23: Floor vote a__ b__ c1__ c2__ c3__ d__	

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM EVENT CARDS

As they say, things happen. Many situations arise during the course of a legislative year, and lawmakers have to deal with them. We've tried to accommodate these situations with a series of random events sprinkled throughout the game board. In group play, assume that the entire group arrives at each random event simultaneously. Some cards apply to all players, while others are specific to various districts. And since a few cards apply only to the person who selects them, decide in advance who will draw the first random event card, then move clockwise around the table for each subsequent card. Choose a card and follow the directions. If a decision is warranted, keep track of it on the "Oh, rats!" form. When you're finished with a card, put it aside and out-of-play.

1. Applies to all players
In a Democratic caucus meeting prior to a floor session, the speaker, who is termed out, explains how he plans to amend a bill that not only bears his pet legislative project but also is important to a special interest that gives generously to Democrats. He needs 33 Democrats to support his maneuver on the floor. After the speaker explains the situation, his most trusted lieutenant — the majority leader, who is *not* termed out — openly challenges the ploy, arguing that it is bad legislative tactics. When the straw vote is taken in caucus to see who will support the speaker on the floor, the majority leader does not raise his hand. How do you vote?

2. Applies only to districts A, B, C, D and G
A bill authored by a member of Democratic leadership provides $10 million in special funds for Los Angeles Unified School District. During floor debate, it is argued by a fellow Democrat that the pot of money available for other school districts may be reduced by a similar amount. How do you vote?

3. Applies only to districts A, D and G
Heavy rains cause mudslides in every coastal district, and a bill is being put together to provide funding for clean-up and relief efforts. It will cost you 1 political chit to ensure that your district gets its fair share. Do you help out or duck it?

4. Applies to all players
A special interest group threatens your bill with a competing initiative if you do not accept an amendment that would substantially reduce the chances of it passing the Legislature. How do you vote?

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.

5. APPLIES ONLY TO THE PLAYER WHO DRAWS THIS CARD:
DO NOT READ ALOUD. FOLLOW THE INSTRUCTIONS.
(Do not share with anyone else associated with the game; follow the instructions, record your decision on a separate piece of paper and hold on to both this card and your decision).
A registered lobbyist offers $20,000 in exchange for support for a particular bill. Do you agree, politely refuse or call the FBI. If you agree, add the $20,000 to your treasury at your next fund-raiser.

6. Applies only to the player who draws this card.
Your receptionist mishandled a call from an important constituent: Subtract $5,000 from the take at your next district fund raiser. If you already have held all those events, subtract the $5,000 from your cash on hand to represent a cancelled check.

7. Applies only to District G
Your campaign treasurer is indicted on tax-evasion charges that have nothing to do with your campaign. Forfeit 1 press chit anyway

8. Applies only to District A
A freight train derails in your district, dumping 6 tank-car loads of toxic waste close to a scenic river. Spend 1 political chit to gain emergency funding for clean-up efforts.

9. Applies to all players
A GOP legislator asks you to co-sponsor a resolution seeking a ban on Teletubby toys in California until show producers offer proof that Tinky Winky is not gay. The Democratic floor whip privately warns you that this is a meaningless ploy by Republicans and is designed to create ammo for the next campaign. Do you sign?

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.

10. Applies to District E, F and G
A candidate for mayor of San Diego asks for an endorsement. The election is nonpartisan, but the candidate is a longtime Democratic Party activist who endorsed you in a contested Democratic primary. Her opponent is a law-school classmate and close personal friend of the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Do you endorse?

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

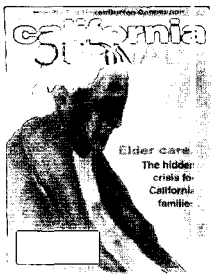
RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



California Journal

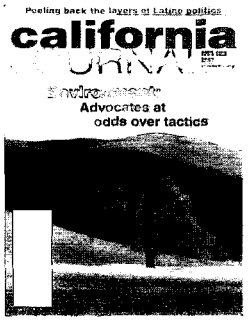
Each month *California Journal* brings its readers lively, non-partisan reporting on politics, people and issues on the cutting edge of the nation's leading state. The award-winning *Journal* contains articles on issues, profiles of state decision makers, and intelligent columns, all presented in an inviting, readable format.

$39.95

annual subscription

Journal Subscription Orders

❑ Yes, enter my subscription at $39.95



❑ **Library or Government Agency, $59.00** (includes index)
❑ **Corporation or Association, $95.00** (includes index, reprint rights and Quick Query Service, which provides spot research on state government and politics)

Your name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Phone _____

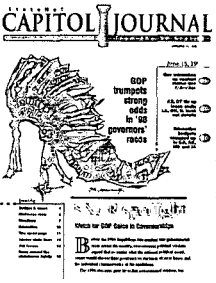
❑ **M/C,VISA or AM.EX#** _____ Exp ____

Signature _____

❑ Bill Me

❑ I have enclosed payment of $ _____

State Net CAPITOL JOURNAL



Capitol Journal is ***the*** publication about political life in the nation's largest and most vibrant state. It gives you news stories, schedules for legislative floor sessions, committee hearings and other Capitol events.

The *Capitol Journal* is also an intricate part of State Net's Capitol News Plus online service. This CNP service includes timely bill updates along with every version of the bill's text — status and text of Congressional bills too.

No one whose livelihood depends on events in the Capitol can afford to be without this detailed, informative, and insightful product.

Annual Subscriptions:
Daily & Weekly $480

For more information:
www.statenet.com

BOOKS/SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIPTIONS *(No sales tax or shipping)*
❑ **California Journal, $39.95**

State Net Capitol Journal - California
❑ **Daily & Weekly,** $480.00

ORDER NOW!

New 1999 Editions

❑ **Roster and Government Guide,** 1-2 copies, $3.50 ea.; 3-49 copies, $2.10 ea.; 50-99, $1.20 ea.; 100+, $.90 ea.

❑ **1999 California Pocket Roster,** 1-2 copies, $9.95 ea.; 3-9 copies, $7.45 ea.; 10-29, $4.95 ea.; 30-99, $2.25 ea.; 100+, $1.50 ea.

The California Directories
❑ State Government, $125.00 (looseleaf, inc. 3 quarterly updates)
❑ 1999 Lobbyists/PACs, $40.00
❑ 1999 Local Government, $60.00
❑ All three, $195.00

❑ **50-State Legislative Directory, 1999,** $95.00

❑ **Campaigning in California,** 1-2 copies, $4.95 ea.; 3-49 copies, $2.95 ea.; 50-99 copies, $2.35 ea.; 100+ copies, $1.49 ea.

❑ **Calif. Government & Politics Annual,** 1998-99, $8.95 ea.

❑ **California Political Almanac 1999-2000,** $34.95

❑ **California's Budget Dance,** 2nd Edition; $9.95

❑ **Political Action Handbook,** 1-2 copies, $3.95 ea.; 3-49 copies, $2.95 ea.; 50-99, $1.95 ea.; 100+, $1.49 ea.

Popular Books by Lou Cannon
❑ **President Reagan: Role of a Lifetime,** $9.95

❑ **Reporting: An Inside View,** $4.95

Journal Back Issues
❑ **Single issues of Journal,** $3.95 ea. Specify dates.
❑ **Complete years 1970-1998 with index,** $35.00 ea. Indicate year(s).
❑ ***Journal* Index,** $10.00 ea. Indicate year(s).

Ordering Information

Check or credit card number must accompany all orders.

Your Name _____
(Please Print)

Organization _____

Street Address _____

City, State & Zip _____

Phone _____ Ext___ Fax _____

Signature _____

M/C, Visa or AmEx# _____ Exp.____

Amount due:
Non-subscription subtotal _____
Tax: 7.75% _____
Shipping 10% *(min.$3.00-max.$75.00)* _____
Subscription subtotal _____
TOTAL _____

❑ **I have enclosed payment**
❑ **Charge to my credit card:**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR EVEN FASTER SERVICE, CALL (916) 444-2840

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO 3472 SACRAMENTO, CA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

6/99 N 7/99

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
2101 K Street
Sacramento, CA 95816-8983

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO 3472 SACRAMENTO, CA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

6/99 N 7/99

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
2101 K Street
Sacramento, CA 95816-8937

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

11. Applies to District A only
The CEO of a lumber company asks you to intervene to have a protester removed from a tree where she has been living for the past 18 months. Do you help?

12. Applies to District 3 only
A group of constituents asks you to carry legislation authorizing same-sex marriages. Do you carry it?

13. Applies to all players
At the end of last year, the lame-duck governor unexpectedly vetoed a bill that provided funds for a variety of school districts around the state. Unfortunately, one of your local school districts spent the money *in anticipation* of the bill being signed. Now, it has appealed to you to help push through a bill to restore the funds, and the local superintendent is complaining that you're not moving fast enough. Spend 3 political chits to build legislative support and forfeit 1 press chit.

14. Applies only to the player who draws this card
The consultant working on your bill in a policy committee is dating the head lobbyist for the special interest opposing your bill. Spend 1 political chit on the committee chair to have the consultant reassigned to another bill.

15. Applies to all players
Funding for a new park in your district has been approved. You want the park named for a longtime patron of the arts, who also happens to be the mother of a major campaign contributor. The state senator who also represents your district wants it named for a Medal of Honor winner. Do you stand firm or agree with the senator?

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.

16. Applies to all players
A Democratic colleague approaches you, asking if you would support the caucus chairman's bid to become speaker. He is not asking you to oust the current speaker but to commit to the caucus chairman once the current speaker decides to pass the torch. Your options are to commit, remain neutral, declare your permanent opposition to the caucus chairman, or say you are late to a meeting and duck into the next available doorway. Your decision may or may not affect your bill.

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.

17. Applies only to players who sit on Budget
A reporter from your hometown paper has asked you for insider information on behind-the-scenes maneuvering over the state budget. Do you talk to him on the record, off the record, or say "no comment"?

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.

18. Applies to all players
The chairwoman of the Education Committee and Democratic floor whip engage in a shouting match during a closed-door caucus meeting. The dust-up is spiced by the fact that, in the next election, the two happen to be running against each other for a vacant Senate seat. A reporter from your hometown paper is always looking for fodder for his weekly column and protects his sources. Do you call him with a tip?

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.

19. Applies to all players
A Democratic colleague asks for your support on a bill designed to mandate overtime pay for workers who work more than eight hours in one day. Several small business associations from your district ask you to vote "no." What do you do?

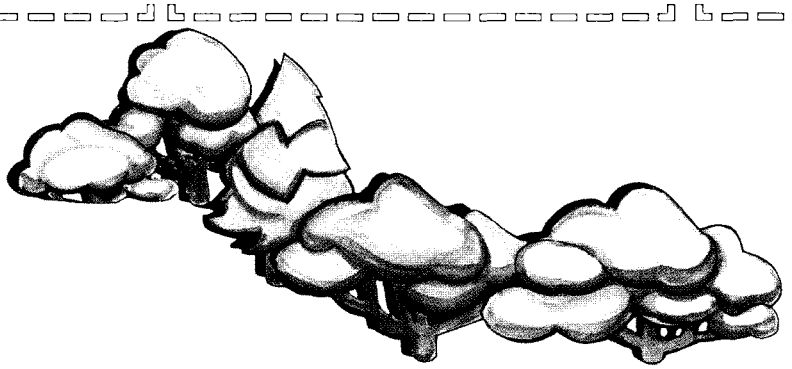
20. Applies only to District D
Citing environmental concerns over too much traffic, residents who live on the famed 17-Mile Drive ask you to carry a bill that would increase the toll by 35 percent and restrict access during weekdays. Do you agree?

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.

21. Applies to all players
If you held more than 1 Sacramento fund raiser and charged $1,000 for a ticket at any one of them, you have been identified on a list of shakedown artists published by Common Cause. Forfeit all press chits and subtract $30,000 from your cash on hand and transfer it to your reelection kitty. If you held only 1 Sacramento fund raiser and charged less than $1,000, earn 2 press chits.

22. Applies to all players
The trial lawyers' association is pushing a bill that allows an individual to sue his or her HMO. The speaker is behind the bill, but the majority leader opposes it even though trial lawyers are among the Democrats' most generous contributors. In addition, a contingent of doctors from your district — some of whom donated to your election effort — has dropped by your office, asking you to oppose the bill. The bill is up for a floor vote. Do you vote AYE or NAY?

Record on your *Oh, Rats* form.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

RANDOM EVENT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Each player must have this form in hand, so copy it before you play the game)

OH, RATS FORM

(Random Event cards 1-22)

(This section is to keep track of decisions you may be asked to make after selecting various random event cards. Not every card involves a decision that must be referred to at a later point in the process. Space is provided here for those that do require such a decision.)

4. Take the amendment ____
   Refuse the amendment ____

9. Sign ____
   Refuse ____

10. Endorse ____
    Don't endorse ____

11. (District A only)
    Agree ____
    Disagree ____

15. Stand firm ____
    Agree ____

16. Commit ____
    Remain neutral ____
    Oppose ____
    Duck ____

17. On-the-record ____
    Off-the-record ____
    No comment ____

18. Call ____
    Don't call ____

19: Support ____
    Oppose ____

20: (District D only)
    Agree ____
    Disagree ____

22. Support speaker ____
    Oppose speaker ____

VOTE BOX

(who voted for my bill)

Assembly Policy Committee:	**D___ R___ G___**
Assembly Appropriations Committee:	**D___ R___ G___**
Assembly Floor:	**D___ R___ G___**
Senate Policy Committee:	**D___ R___**
Senate Appropriations Committee:	**D___ R___**
Senate Floor:	**D___ R___**
Conference Committee:	**D___ R___**
Conference Report, Assembly Floor:	**D___ R___ G___**

Good for forests.
Good for taxpayers.
Good for recreation.
Good for schools.

The California Forestry Association consists of members committed to sustainable use of renewable resources and responsible forestry.

300 Capitol Mall, Suite 350, Sacramento, CA 95814
www.foresthealth.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No more business as usual

by Lance T. Izumi

Local government officials who have tried to sabotage Proposition 209, the successful 1996 anti-race-and-gender-preference initiative, were recently dealt a devastating blow by a California appellate court. In a unanimous decision, the state Sixth District Court of Appeals issued a strongly worded opinion striking down a San Jose race-and-gender-based public contracting outreach program. The decision is the first by a state appellate court on the implementation of Proposition 209 at the local level and will, unless overturned by the California Supreme Court, invalidate local preference programs that have been disguised through the use of cosmetic race-neutral language.

San Jose officials had used just such semantic ruses to try to preserve the preference system in the city's public contracting program. After passage of Proposition 209, the city created a new program, the "Nondiscriminatory/Nonpreferential Treatment Program," supposedly to end discrimination and preferences in the subcontracting of the city's construction contracts.

The new guidelines, however, were simply masks placed over old-style race-and-gender preference requirements. In true Orwellian fashion, contractors still had to give preferences to minority and women subcontractors (and thus discriminate against non-minority, male subcontractors) in order to prove that they didn't discriminate based on race or gender.

Specifically, contractors bidding on city contracts had to create "outreach" programs in which bid notification letters were sent out only to minority and women subcontractors. Only if the contractor had already subcontracted with a sufficient number of minority or women business people would the contractor be exempted from the outreach requirement.

High Voltage Wire Works, an electrical contractor, was the low bidder on an electrical project for a city water plant. However, because the company wanted to use its own work force and not subcontract out to anyone, San Jose rejected the company's bid. The company sued, saying that the outreach program was an unlawful preference scheme, and a trial court agreed.

In its opinion upholding the trial court, the appellate court observed that simply calling something "outreach" doesn't automatically make it permissible under 209: "Preferential treatment of an individual in a targeted category, however, is still preferential treatment regardless of the label used to describe it." The court said that "the focus of that outreach would be the factor that determined its validity." Because the San Jose program required contractors to make special efforts to notify and negotiate only with minority and women subcontractors, the court ruled that these subcontractors received "an advantage over other businesses" and that such an advantage is prohibited under 209.

> Contractors had to negotiate with interested minority and women subcontractors and not "unjustifiably" reject any of their bids.

The appellate court made other important determinations. For example, the court said that 209's prohibition "is not limited to set-asides, quotas, and 'plus factors,' but extends to all preferences granted to the target groups," including race- and gender-based outreach programs, goals and good-faith effort requirements.

The court also explained the interplay between Proposition 209 and federal law. Since it prohibits all discriminatory treatment, Proposition 209 provides greater protection to individuals than is contained in federal law. Further, the court emphasized that the federal Civil Rights Act does not "impose a duty on public entities to implement remedial affirmative action programs that result in discrimination or preferential treatment."

With regard to federal constitutional provisions, the court made important rulings that will greatly affect cities such as San Francisco, which last year actually expanded its race-and-gender-based public contracting preference program. Relying on the U.S. Constitution's equal protection clause, city Supervisor Michael Yaki said, "We don't believe that 209 applies to programs established under the 14th Amendment to combat race and sex discrimination." Rebuking this argument, which was also used by San Jose officials, the appellate court stated, "we must reject [San Jose's] attempt to impose semantic constraints on the term 'discrimination' by resorting to the equal protection clauses of the state and federal Constitutions."

Lance T. Izumi is a senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute in San Francisco. Comments about this column may be sent to editor@statenet.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Managed health care: The fix is *not* in

by Susan Rasky

True to their campaign pledges in 1998, Democratic lawmakers have been more than ambitious this year in responding to constituent complaints about California's health care system. Some 50-odd managed care reform bills, ranging from mandates for coverage of mental health and contraceptive services to the highly controversial notion of patients' rights to sue their health care plans, are stacked up in the Legislature like airplanes over SFO on a foggy night.

The immediate issue is what to do with them — hardly a simple matter in terms of either policy or politics, not to mention institutional logistics. But in the brave new world of "undivided government" the bigger problem is that nobody seems to be in the control tower.

Democratic leaders in both chambers are understandably reluctant to push ahead on health care bills Governor Gray Davis may veto. For the better part of spring and summer, they have been willing to keep the assorted reform measures on a low boil while awaiting the governor's managed care priorities.

Now, however, the rank and file are restless. Some members are simply irritated by the administration's indifference to the internal rhythms of the Legislature. Others are suspicious that the governor's request for time to develop some broad policy context in which to evaluate managed care legislation is simply a way of running out the clock this session.

The implicit message that the governor's political interests are not necessarily the same as those of his legislative brethren is by now old news in the Capitol. But the realization that the legislative leadership can't or won't delineate some health care priorities of its own is giving Democratic political strategists fits.

"We used to be able to play the health care issue off of Pete Wilson, which helped us elevate it, but we can hardly use the governor from our own party as a foil. Health care reform doesn't even seem to be on his radar screen," one Democratic staffer complained. "Neither the speaker nor the senate pro tempore are the kinds of guys to lead on this subject because it's just not their baby. Everybody else is a free-lancer, and nobody is looking out for the promotion of Democrats as a group."

Another aide notes that the key battle on managed care reform is over suing health plans. The industry, he says, cares more about blocking that legislation than about anything else on the table. "Nobody in the Legislature has sat down and said 'Let's use the tort club to bleed the industry and then get the rest of our wish list.'"

Strategizing of that sort of course would put Democrats crosswise with their biggest contributors, the trial lawyers, perhaps one reason the speaker and the senate pro tempore have been less than eager to lead a health care reform crusade.

But Democratic political consultant Gale Kaufman warns that legislative leaders are squandering a defining political issue and courting big trouble next year if members' efforts yield merely a handful of disconnected reform bills.

"Nobody in the Legislature has sat down and said 'Let's use the tort club to bleed the industry and then get the rest of our wish list.'"

"Every legislative campaign I'm aware of where a Democrat beat a Republican in this state was centered on health care. At the end of the day, what do we say we did?" she asks. "If we don't find a way to put together a coherant package with some internal logic to it, we are very, very vulnerable. People have to see a tangible difference next year when they go to the doctor's office."

Arguably, the Legislature, particularly a term-limited one, is the last place anybody ought to be looking for a coherent policy framework on something as complex as the overhaul of a health care insurance and delivery system involving 29 different managed health care plans that serve about 15 million Californians.

From the point of view of outside policy experts like Mark Smith, president of the California Health Care Foundation, the go-slow approach has its virtues. "You're talking about trying to rationalize and modernize a regulatory apparatus that is 10 to 15 years out of date," he says. "There is tremendous complexity and interlocking impact here, and you're talking about doing these things at a time when health care costs are rising for the second year in a row."

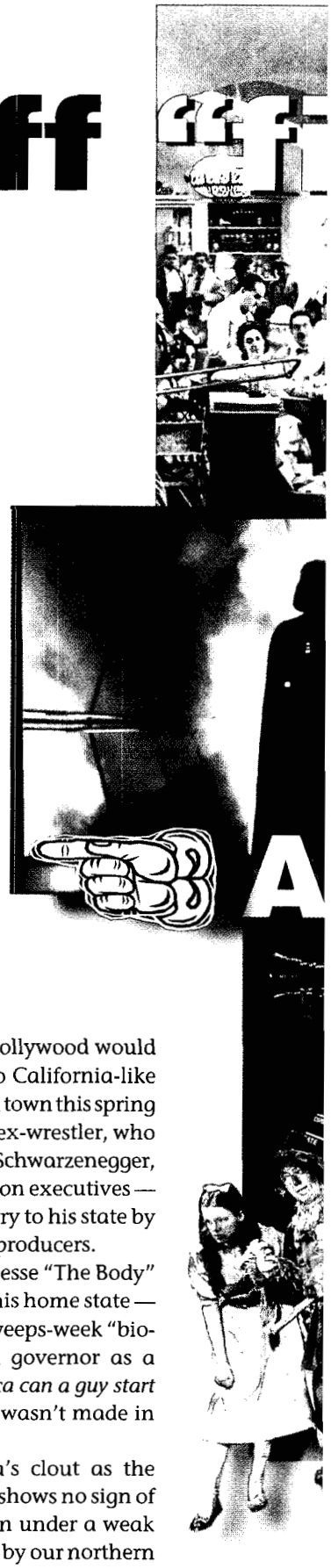
In the face of those rising costs, voters who elected a Democratic governor and a Democratic Legislature to fix a broken health care system may not be so patient.

Contributing Editor Susan Rasky is on the faculty of the University of California, Berkeley. Comments may be e-mailed to editor@statenet.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fending off

Hollywood, in the grips of cost-cutting, feels the ever-tightening squeeze of Canada's cross-border grab of film industry jobs and business. What better time to get acquainted with Sacramento, where pro-industry legislation can signal the beginning of a beautiful friendship?



By Melanie Smith

It seems appropriate that Hollywood would beckon the media-savvy Jesse Ventura, who, so California-like as quasi-actor-turned-politician, blazed through town this spring in his latest role as governor of Minnesota. The ex-wrestler, who for a time peopled action movies with pal Arnold Schwarzenegger, schmoozed with celebrities and film and television executives — but with a purpose. Ventura came west to lure the film industry to his state by dangling carrots, tax credits and rebates, to cost-conscious producers.

Yet, when it came to filming his own life story, not even Jesse "The Body" was able to muscle producers into spending their budgets in his home state — or any other stateside location, for that matter. NBC's May sweeps-week "bio-pic," "The Jesse Ventura Story," portraying the maverick governor as a quintessentially American product (*"Where else but in America can a guy start out as a wrestler and end up a governor?"* the faux Jesse asks) wasn't made in California or Minnesota. It was filmed in Toronto.

Despite years of efforts to reverse the trend, Canada's clout as the economical location of choice for penny-pinching producers shows no sign of fading, as movie and TV studios continue to seek safe haven under a weak Canadian dollar and some strikingly generous tax incentives by our northern neighbors. Consequently, the entertainment industry's supporting characters — those whose livelihoods depend on Hollywood staying put — fret that, unless California's elected leaders step up with incentives to strengthen the studios' ties to the Golden State, California's standing as the film capital of the world will be in jeopardy. Increasingly, people in The Biz are beating a path

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the statehouse in Sacramento, seeking tax breaks and other goodies to stem the flow of dollars and business going out of state, particularly up to Canada. Their pleas come at an awkward time: Just as public outcry over violence in TV, movies and video games is prompting politicians to pressure Hollywood to tone down its product, the industry comes knocking with demands for all levels of government to dream up new ways to make California more film-friendly.

Runaway production or "film flight," they say, could turn California's most glamorous industry into fodder for a disaster flick, jeopardizing a business that helped pull the Golden State out of this decade's recession and that the state Trade and Commerce Agency reports now generates $27.5 billion annually, a sum on par with agriculture. State and local film offices point to a 20 percent drop in feature film projects between 1997 and 1998 and the precipitous drop in television "movie-of-the-week" projects — such as the Canadian-filmed Jesse Ventura story — coupled with an upswing in production in foreign countries. From fall 1997 to fall 1998, 107 of 195 movies-of-the-week, once an L.A. staple, were filmed out of the country, 88 in Canada.

With employment still topping 1990 levels, however, and certain producers and actors still pulling in astronomical salaries, skeptics roll their eyes at the notion that "Tinsel Town" needs rescuing. Yet those working in the industry insist the problem is real, that the Hollywood California

Supporting players:

Sacramento lawmakers

By Melanie Smith

Some in the entertainment industry say that, when it comes to government, Hollywood just wants to be left alone to put on its show. Still, much lobbying goes on at the federal level, where overarching regulatory and First Amendment battles play out. In Sacramento, lawmakers and film officials tend to focus on the nuts and bolts of keeping The Biz in town — but also delve into the sometimes bizarre needs of an industry whose product aims to imitate real life.

Legislative efforts at the state Capitol have been largely defensive, say industry insiders. Legislation created for the "real world" often fails to translate well for Hollywood, where temporary sets and simulated dramas require some regulatory tinkering. Through the 1980s and into the '90s, film officials have worked with state agencies to reinterpret regulations that might have, for instance, required actors to wear motorcycle helmets in "*Easy Rider,*" stripped "*Rambo*" of his assault weapon, and prohibited dust storms on the set of "*The Grapes of Wrath.*"

Competition from other states and, more recently, Canada, has prompted ongoing efforts to make the Golden State more film-friendly by establishing helpful and streamlined local and state film offices. But the welcome sign isn't carried by all Californians. Either out of greed to squeeze money from presumably wealthy filmmakers, or out of frustration over truckloads of crews and equipment in their neighborhoods, local residents have been known to disrupt filming by cranking up chainsaws, switching on alarms, or sledge-hammering concrete until they're paid a consolation fee. The practice had become so widespread that in 1995 former state Senator Herschel Rosenthal (D-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

takes for granted is truly under siege.

"I worked on the set of *'Frasier'* for the last six years, at Paramount, and I have never seen the in-house crew so aware and so talkative about the situation," said Don Bennett, a stand-in for the character Niles. Bennett is one of thousands of "below-the-line" workers — members of sound and stage crews, set builders, costumers, musicians, and anyone else lacking "star" billing, hit by the latest cycle of film flight.

Bennett says that he and fellow crew members have weathered previous threats posed by Canada, but now, work has been more scarce for the idle television-series crews seeking off-season projects — typically short-term movies-of-the-week — now largely filmed in Canada. Those who make their living exclusively from these short-term projects are hurting even more, says Liz Ryan of the Film and Television Action Committee.

The newly formed committee — an organization comprising below-the-line workers, including many represented by the industry's approximately 60 unions — hopes to quantify runaway production's impact upon Hollywood. Employment numbers are slow to come by, says Ryan, due to the free-lance nature of the work. Initial numbers show that between 1997 and 1999, Los Angeles County lost over 11,000 film-industry jobs, and the committee estimates that another 11,400 direct and indirect jobs will be lost by this year's end. (Film officials peg the entertainment work force at approximately 500,000 direct and indirect em-

Los Angeles) carried a measure that would have allowed the noisemakers to be ticketed. But the publicity surrounding the bill caused film industry officials to withdraw support, saying they feared copycat blackmailers and that they were also anxious to maintain good public relations.

Special needs

In the last few years, thanks in part to ramped-up lobbying by the nearly 100,000-member Screen Actors Guild, state lawmakers have been stepping up efforts to look after the industry's interests. Following Princess Diana's death in August, 1997, state lawmakers (whom *Los Angeles Times* columnist George Skelton labeled the *"paparazzi politicians"*) pitched anti-*paparazzi* legislation into the media frenzy. Former state Senator Charles Calderon (D-Whittier) and state Senator Tom Hayden (D-Los Angeles) separately devised "bubble" legislation, preventing photographers from getting closer than 15 feet to celebrity subjects. Calderon also introduced legislation making *paparazzi,* rather than their employers, responsible for damages if found guilty of obtaining photographs inappropriately and furthermore targets "tabloid" editors and broadcasters who defame public officials and private persons. None of these proposals, however, made it into law.

Senate President pro Tempore John Burton (D-San Francisco) had better luck pushing through a *paparazzi* bill; last year Governor Pete Wilson signed into law Burton's SB 262, aimed at curbing "stalkerazzi" by allowing civil actions against photographers who trespass on private property in order to obtain photographs or even who "technologically trespass" by employing enhancement devices (telephoto lenses or high powered microphones). Burton has, this session, taken up additional causes for show-biz performers. His "deceased celebrities" measure, SB 209, would clarify and further restrict commercial use of a deceased star's image. The bill grew out of efforts by Fred Astaire's widow following an appellate court decision permitting a film producer to use clips of Astaire for a series of video dance lessons.

The industry places special burdens on children who work in Tinsel Town, inviting more requests for favorable legislation. Last year, child actors got a break with changes to the state's education code. AB 776 by then-Assemblyman Joe Baca (D-Rialto) and Assemblywoman Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica) standardized the number of absences allowed child actors, who had previously faced varying penalties depending on the school district.

Protecting the littlest stars

Also last year, Kuehl, and Assemblyman Carl Washington (D-Paramount) introduced AB 744, the "preemie law," intended to stop what some on the set saw as an alarming trend — the use of premature infants to depict live births on camera. State law required that babies be 15 days or older to work on a film project, leading casting directors to seek out preemies who could pass for newborns. One industry source noted the growing alarm among actors who on the set had to hold tiny, premature babies slathered with cream cheese and jelly, under hot lights, to simulate the birthing process. Now the law requires all baby actors under one month to be cleared by a physician, who must certify that the infant is full-term, at least 15 days old and able to handle the stress of stardom.

For older children, Burton this session has introduced SB 1162, which revises and expands the long-standing "Coogan Law," protecting celebrity children's earnings. The original 1938 law was named after child actor Jackie Coogan, whose parents squandered — legally — his millions. And Kuehl this session has introduced AB 884, cracking down on scam talent managers. Kuehl, who chairs the Assembly Select Committee on Entertainment and the Arts and who was herself a child actor, notes that these are not legitimate talent agents, but comprise a "predatory business, seeking out talented children and their parents to get hefty advance fees from them, while seeming to promise to get them work."

Some of this legislation may seem excessive to lawmakers with districts far removed from Hollywood, but those in the entertainment industry say they need such breaks for the lucrative show to go on.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"State government should view this as an economic issue."
— Lisa Rawlings of Warner Brothers

ployees statewide. Indirect workers include vendors, caterers, and other support services not on a studio's payroll.)

Committee members note that below-the-line workers, because of cost or, in the case of Canada, union and immigration rules, stay behind, while producers, directors and big-name stars have the freedom to look outside state and national borders for low-cost venues in which to film.

Hollywood cost-cutting

"It's an uneven playing field," said Jack Kyser, chief economist at the Los Angeles County Development Corporation, a nonprofit organization promoting business in the Los Angeles region. Kyser notes that because of union and labor regulations, Canadian crews can work here, but Americans can't work there. He attributes the job losses to a number of factors, especially the exchange rate (an American dollar is currently worth about $1.47 Canadian) and lucrative tax incentives extended by Canada, Australia and other countries. "Canada is so focused, it's absolutely scary," said Kyser. "No matter where you go, people want a piece of this [entertainment] pie."

Still, Kyser and others say, you can't ignore the impact that Hollywood's downsizing has had on the industry's job scene. With major studios and television services pursuing cost containment, budgets are getting slashed, triggered in part by the alarming spending increases of the mid-1990s.

"Now [studios] are owned by publicly traded companies that are concerned with shareholder value and managing their earnings per share," said Cody Cluff, president of the Entertainment Industry Development Corporation, the Los Angeles region's film commission. Major studios have announced they will cut back on the number of films they make this year, and many features continue to be filmed in cheaper locales.

Canada's allure

So, show business has joined the list of industries affected by global and technological change — in this case impacting a relatively well-heeled class of workers. The California Economic Development Department reports that entertainment workers average $36 per hour (the figure includes celebrity salaries), with the Motion Picture Association of America estimating annual salaries at $53,000 in 1996.

For many on the management side of the industry, especially those working with smaller budget productions, film flight is all about the bottom line. "All things being equal, we would like to produce in California, because that's where people are located," said Mike Frischkorn, president of the American Film Marketing Association, a trade group representing independent filmmakers. "When you're operating on a very small margin, every penny counts." Frischkorn says that California and the United States need to become more production-friendly, like Canada, offering tax breaks. He adds that Canada's labor unions are more open to negotiating deals and terms than those in the states and says that his association is currently carrying out discussions with the Screen Actors Guild to encourage the national actors union to become more "flexible" when it comes to low-budget movies filmed in the United States.

Several industry insiders note the cyclic nature of employment in Hollywood and agree the pronounced mid-decade expansion has leveled off and now appears to be declining. "What concerns me in this particular cycle is that the other countries that are pursuing film work are also now building the infrastructure to support ongoing filming," said Christine Essel, chairman of the California Film Commission and Paramount's senior vice president of public affairs. They are no longer just doing location filming, says Essel, they are building stages, training crews, establishing post-production operations accompanied by new local vendors, allowing them to be more competitive.

Sacramento takes note

Many labor unions and guilds are backing two bills, AB 358 and AB 484, jointly authored by Assembly Speaker pro Tempore Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica) and Assemblyman Scott Wildman (D-Los Feliz), offering some enticements for film producers. The first would provide a 10 percent tax credit on labor for movies-of-the-week and TV series pilots costing less than $5 million and produced at least partially in California. The second provides a 10 percent labor tax credit on any small-budget production ($5 million or less) produced entirely in California.

Kuehl has another "film-friendly" measure, AB 848, intended to streamline the film-permit process along the coast and speed up appeals by local residents. Another proposed law backed by the Screen Writers Guild is AB 83 by Assemblyman Tony Cardenas (D-Sylmar), which would exempt certain creative artists working in their homes within Los Angeles County from city or county business-license taxes and fees. The League of California Cities opposes the measure, arguing that it would abridge local control. And another tax-related bill, AB 385 by Assemblyman Wally Knox (D-Los Angeles), which would allow disclosure of certain state tax information to charter cities to help them identify non-taxpaying businesses, contains an exemption for creative artists.

Wildman says he sees new bonds forming among Hollywood representatives and lawmakers. "Historically, we [lawmakers] thought Hollywood was Hollywood,"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wildman said. "It was sacrosanct; it would always be there. And when the Canada thing began having a radical effect on employment, people in the industry began to see how important Sacramento was to them." The assemblyman points to a heightened political awareness among industry workers. The Film and Television Action Committee, he notes, begun only eight weeks prior, has grown to more than 3,000 members. The group organized a "Bring Hollywood Home" rally at the Johnny Carson Park in Burbank in mid-April, drawing about 1,500 people and, this being Hollywood, much media coverage.

Growing awareness

Hollywood's mini-recession does appear to have been an eye-opener for rank-and-file workers who previously may have regarded politics as a remote concern at best. "This thing on the set...," said "*Frasier*" crew-member Don Bennett, "I was kind of bemused by it. People that I never hear talking about politics in any depth were suddenly saying, 'Hey wait a minute, my assemblyman could help me.'"

The Wildman and Kuehl tax bills have some detractors, particularly lobbyist Lenny Goldberg of the California Tax Reform Association, who says the state risks handing out tax breaks to productions that never intended to leave the state. "It's not about taxes," said Goldberg, "it's about an exchange rate and labor costs and a highly subsidized film industry in Canada." The Motion Picture Association of America, a trade association representing the seven major studios, has taken a neutral position on the bills, with industry sources saying that the major players want to stay distant from the bills that are "for the little guys."

Both lawmakers acknowledge that the tax breaks are small compared to generous Canadian tax incentives but argue that the carrots could make a difference to, in particular, producers making lower budget productions. "I don't know if they will be enough," said Kuehl. But, she noted, pointing to a study by the Film and Television Action Committee that traced the millions of dollars lost when a single film migrates to Canada, "If you add up production that is actually occurring in Canada alone, even if 10 percent of that came back to California, it would be an enormous bump to the state budget."

"The runaway production issue is one that has caught [the industry's] attention on a state level, because the feds have been very slow to act," said Kuehl. Still, she notes the need for federal action, particularly in smoothing out some of the restrictions prohibiting U.S. crews from working in Canada.

Meanwhile, north of the border, Canadians are urging Californians not to overreact. "People in California tend to overestimate the amount of work we do in Canada," said Peter Mitchell, director of the British Columbia Film Commission. He says Canada has a $1.5 billion film industry, with half of that originating in Canada and half from the United States. "People have to realize that we are 10 percent of the North American viewing market. The fact that we do 2 percent of the work in Canada, that doesn't seem unfair."

A cast of thousands

National entertainment groups are giving the issue a close look. Two of the largest industry players representing labor, the Screen Actors Guild and the Directors Guild of America, have commissioned a study to examine the causes of runaway production, with the results due at the end of June. The Directors Guild has also hired a Washington lobbying firm, officials announced, to combat runaway production. The firm is expected to press for changes in U.S. tax policy.

Meanwhile, more than 175 local and regional film offices nationwide have banded together to form Film U.S., a non-profit advocacy organization to be funded by $500-per-commission dues, intending to press for more favorable federal legislation. The members, historically competing with one another to lure film production to their cities and regions have, as a start, lobbied for U.S. House Bill 154, a measure streamlining the film-shoot permit process on federal lands.

Additionally, actor and former Screen Actors Guild President Barry Gordon and others are working to create a national trade association to address runaway production and industry competition from other countries. Gordon says the group would include key representatives from unions, vendors, suppliers, people "from all facets of the industry." Not only would the group lobby at the federal level, but it would facilitate training and retraining programs. "We would be involved in all aspects to make the American film industry more competitive," says Gordon.

The show will go on

Other states, meanwhile, continue to actively compete with Canada for rights to steal a piece of the Hollywood pie. Rhode Island, Texas, Florida, and, with Governor Jesse Ventura's blessing, Minnesota, among others, have fashioned their own film-industry lures in recent legislative sessions.

With that kind of competition angling for Hollywood's budgets and business, California cannot afford to be complacent. "State government should view this as an economic development issue," said Lisa Rawlins, currently vice president of studio and production affairs at Warner Brothers, and creator of the California Film Commission under former Governor George Deukmejian. "I believe that the industry will always be based in California," said Rawlins.

"It simply becomes a question of how much mobile production goes somewhere else and whether the state determines there's a value in retaining those lost dollars and jobs."

Melanie Smith is an associate editor of the California Journal. *Comments about this story may be e-mailed to editor@statenet.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Liz Hill: Here today

Her bosses, who number 120, may come and go with term limits, but Legislative Analyst Elizabeth Hill remains for the long haul, adding a steady and accurate voice to an increasingly partisan dialogue in the California Legislature.

By Max Vanzi

Fifty-eight years ago, the Legislature, unwilling to adopt another state budget based solely on finance reports from the governor's office, set up its own fiscal research arm to run the numbers independently.

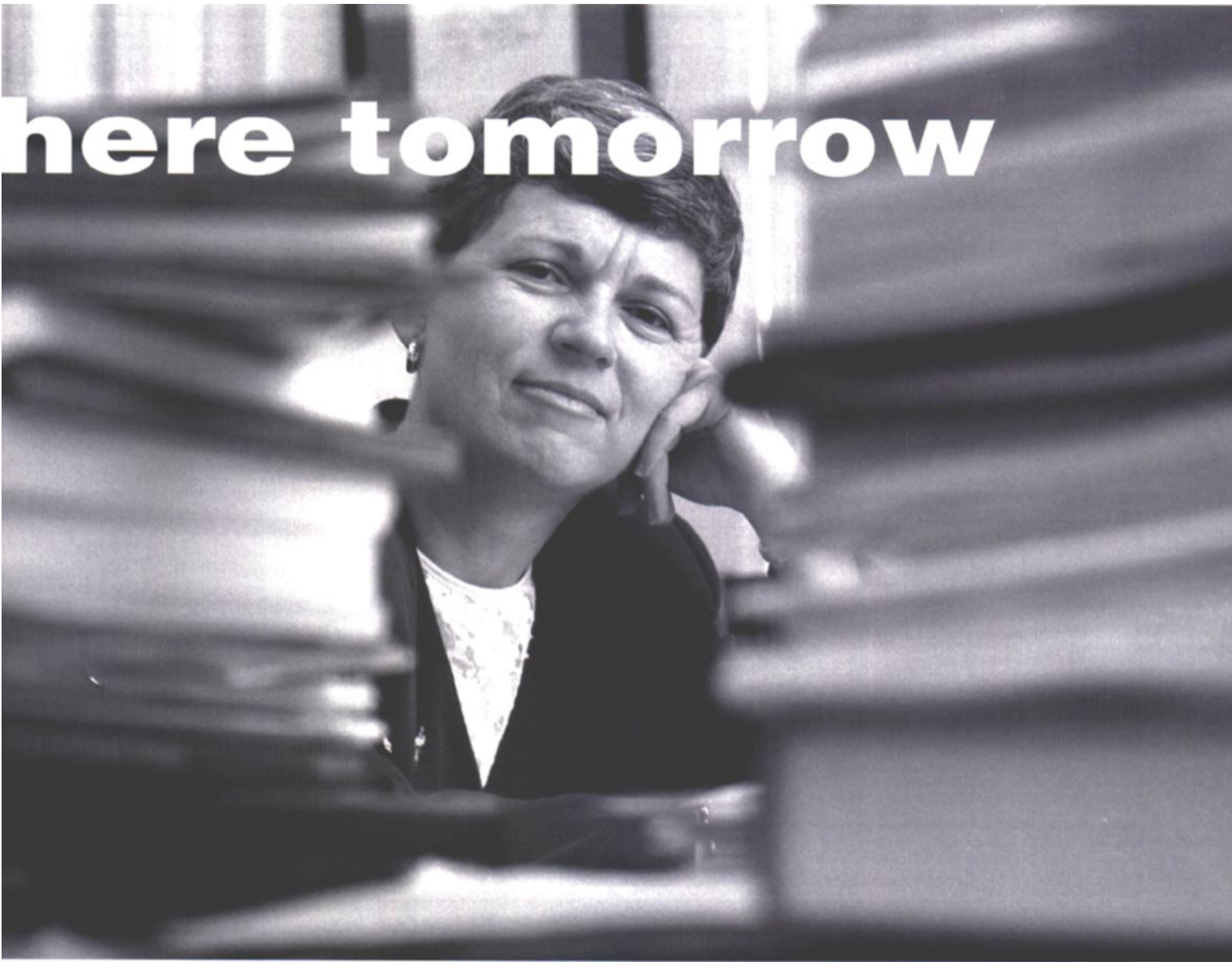
The Legislative Analyst's Office, first in the nation, caught on as a valued resource. It won respect as an unbiased voice in the annual budget debates, based on staff analyses of state spending and estimates of future revenues. At the head of the office was *the* Legislative Analyst, whose style defined the office, and was someone known in and around government as a seasoned financial expert by the lawmakers who hired him — and, historically, it was always a him.

So in 1986, as the two-house selection committee began hearings to choose California's fourth Legislative Analyst, the 37-year-old candidate who showed up seven months pregnant hardly fit the mold.

But after doubters among the panel's senators finally yielded to her champions in the Assembly, Elizabeth G. Hill got the job. In the end, noted then Assemblyman, now state Senator John Vasconcellos (D-Santa Clara), Hill's spotless, eight-year record as a program analyst in the Legislative Analyst's Office answered any questions legislators might have had about her willingness to commit to the job.

Now, more than 12 years later, Liz Hill is still the Legislative Analyst, and still regarded highly. Her performance is widely rated as good or better than her predecessors, whether the office's main task be *analyzing the state budget or critiquing the performance of a single*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



state agency.

"I've always felt the [Legislative Analyst's Office] is a unique part of government," said Hill recently, speaking from experience. She has worked at the office for 23 years and has never worked permanently anywhere else. Seated in her 10th floor, downtown office, filled with the plaques and mementos of a longtime occupant, Hill told an interviewer: "The Legislature has given us wide latitude to call it as we see it and be a voice of information and analysis. I think we've more than paid for ourselves."

In conversation, Hill is courteous, often breaks into a wide smile during light moments and mostly detours around the jargon of her trade to speak plainly to the press and public.

In many respects, she comes across as the perfect fit in the role of neutral adviser. Major features of both her work and home life seem to coexist in a yin-yang state of striking harmony.

A balanced analyst

She works for Republicans; she works for Democrats. She works for the Senate, which pays half of her office's $4.6 million annual budget, and for the Assembly, which pays the other half. She is the mother of a daughter, 12, and a son, 17. She is an employee of the state, as is her husband, Larry Hill, who heads a student employment service at California State University, Sacramento. They met and married in college, then took fellowships to study in Sweden, together. When Stanford plays Cal, she roots for both because she attended both, earning her undergraduate degree in biology from the former, her master's degree in public policy at the latter.

Add to that her personal non-confrontational style, and Hill is seen as a veritable soul of fairness and balance as she goes about analyzing data, dispensing advice and issuing the LAO's carefully researched reports that land regularly on the desks of state officials and others.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cracked one Capitol reporter unable to find fault with Hill, "She's the budget nun."

Vasconcellos, who along with then Assemblywoman, now Congresswoman Maxine Waters, (D-Los Angeles) fought resistance from the Senate side of the Joint Legislative Budget Committee when Hill was up for appointment back in 1986, said Hill has surpassed his expectations.

"She's a star, a superstar," Vasconcellos said. "She is bright, thoughtful and is totally trustworthy on all matters fiscal. She absolutely lives that job."

Lest she seem the franchised property of liberals like Vasconcellos and Waters, Hill also earns respect from Republicans. One illustration: Her office remained unscathed during the 1995-96 period when the GOP controlled the Assembly and along with it, half of the LAO's operating budget.

Former Assembly GOP leader Rod Pacheco (R-Riverside) said he has found her to be uniformly unbiased "and in this place, that's a wonder." One of the crime bills being carried by Pacheco, a former prosecutor, was crafted on ideas that came out of Hill's office, he said.

Wilson irked

Striking a rare note of discord, former Governor Pete Wilson became "somewhat annoyed" with the way Hill entered the debate three years ago on welfare reform, said Wilson's spokesman, Sean Walsh. While Wilson was governor, "she overreached by coming up with her own welfare program," Walsh said. Hill acknowledged laying out alternative ways, based on LAO studies, for the state to comply with 1996 federal welfare reform laws, but she hardly felt she was an intruder.

"While the Legislature didn't adopt our proposal in total, and we didn't expect that they would, I think that we helped change the debate in a number of significant ways," Hill said.

Word of Wilson's annoyance, she said, "didn't reach me." Whatever their differences, Walsh said Wilson "respected her, and more importantly Craig Brown respected her" for her skills at analyzing the budget. Brown, Wilson's director of finance, would defend Hill when Wilson became peeved at her, Walsh said.

Republican state Senator Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga) asked if Republicans suspect Hill of bias, said he does not. But he said it may seem she is closer to Democrats simply because, until now, the budgets she critiqued were those of Republican governors during the 12 straight years that she has conducted the exercise.

With Democrat Gray Davis as governor, "now we'll see" if she goes lighter on him than on his Republican predecessors, Brulte said. So far, no such trend is apparent, he said. Hill has already declared the Davis administration's revenue estimates for the coming year $360 million too low.

More provocatively, as with her welfare plan that ticked off Wilson, she has parted company with Davis over education reform, the centerpiece of his administration. In the analyst office's own master plan for improving K-12 conditions, Hill declares that local school authorities are best suited to decide how to spend available funds, whereas under the Davis plan, school funding tends to get "earmarked" by category in Sacramento.

In her understated way, Hill told the *California Journal:* "Our view would be that the local school districts need more discretionary funding so that they can meet the local needs of their community."

Davis' press secretary, Michael Bustamante, said there is plenty of local control in the governor's proposals, but that for Hill to state otherwise is of no particular concern to Davis.

"They're pretty much in sync" on most issues, Bustamante said. "After all, he's a moderate-moderate governor and she's sort of a moderate-conservative legislative analyst."

Serving 120 bosses

In a way, being anything but tolerant of Hill's activities would be a waste of a politician's energy, or time taken away, say, from fund-raising. Why fight her? She wields no direct power. As the Legislative Analyst, she does just that; she analyzes problems and recommends solutions and constantly defers judgment to the Legislature, which she calls "my 120 bosses."

But that's not to say she is without influence. Though only recommendations, Hill's reports — with their charts, graphs and unembellished prose — not only stimulate debate; sometimes they bear fruit.

As explained by Hill, in January, Davis's proposed budget contained no funds to address the dilapidated condition of California's state parks. The LAO did a "big write-up," she said, on the need for repairs. When Davis revised his spending plans in May, it contained $157 million for that purpose.

"I like to think we helped shed some light on that particular issue," Hill said, adding that the LAO has examined other state agencies for similar deficiencies, together carrying an $80 billion price tag to put things right. Hill has recommended attacking the problem comprehensively, with interested parties sitting at the same table, rather than different agencies maneuvering in isolation to get the Legislature's ear as they bid for funds.

An important function of the Legislative Analyst's Office on her watch, she said, is to take on challenges that cross agency lines. She said the office was able, for example, to throw new light on teen pregnancy problems by rounding up and analyzing data from different state departments.

Those endeavors may seem to pale compared to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

battles against liquor-license corruption and organized crime waged by one of Hill's predecessors, the legendary A. Alan Post, who retired in 1977 after serving in the position for 28 years.

"We were the warp and woof of government" in those days, said Post, who is still active as a board member of the Public Policy Institute of California. But he observed that since his time the role of the LAO has changed, forced by the passage of Proposition 140 in 1990 to stop scrutinizing the Legislature's money bills. Besides limiting term limits of state officeholders, the measure wiped out 60 percent of the Legislative Analyst's Office budget.

Doing more with less

Hill, said Post, maintained the LAO's quality through that crisis. "She's first rate," he notes.

Because of Proposition 140, said Hill, her staff nosedived from 105 to about 50. At the same time, while the office no longer analyzed bills, work picked up in another department: helping to educate the flood of new legislators arriving in Sacramento in recent years to replace those being termed out by Proposition 140. The office works harder, Hill said, but the product hasn't suffered.

Perhaps the most closely watched of Hill's tasks are her revenue estimates. The news media take notice when the LAO numbers invariably contradict the governor's projections. The legislative budget writers accept or reject her findings, leading to debates on how to set spending limits. This year, for example, the Assembly Budget Committee adopted Davis' estimate, which was lower than Hill's by $360 million, while the Senate panel went with the LAO figure.

So which side has been closest to the mark when the actual revenue amounts become known around October each year?

An exact scorecard is hard to come by. Hill's assessment is that "we've been able to be in the right direction more than the wrong direction. We feel very good about it."

There is not much about her $106,000 a year job that Hill does not feel good about, apparently, including relative serenity within the LAO staff. Those familiar with the analyst's office routine say Hill, who reads and edits every report the office produces, manages at a standard that does not tolerate sloppy work. At the same time, "she is not authoritative or dictatorial," said one source. "She's the opposite of a tyrant without being a pushover."

Hill notes her staff is a good mix of senior people who have made careers at the LAO and others who stay awhile and leave, often recruited to work directly on legislators' staffs. But there is no sign that Hill is open to being wooed away. "I've always loved working here and I've learned something new every day."

Max Vanzi is a free-lance writer and longtime state Capitol journalist in Sacramento. Comments on this article may be e-mailed to editor@statenet.com.

California collects $9,841,860* in taxes every hour. That's 9,841,860 good reasons for joining Cal-Tax.

Tax-wise corporations clearly understand the axiom, "It's not how much you earn, it's how much you keep." That's why they rely on the California Taxpayers' Association to alert them to tax policy threats and opportunities that can affect their bottom lines. Membership in Cal-Tax gives your company our ***Early Warning System*** and ***Rapid Response Advocacy***. We provide the most complete information available on tax policy changes in California.

- ***Cal-Tax Online***, our award-winning Internet service, provides instant access to daily information and comprehensive reports.
- The ***Caltaxletter and Cal-Tax Digest*** provide expert reporting and analysis.
- Special e-mail and fax bulletins alert and mobilize members on hot-button issues.

Make Cal-Tax your business partner and advocate on tax issues: Check out our website (www.caltax.org), then phone, fax, or e-mail us for a copy of a current issue of the ***Caltaxletter*** and membership information.

** Total state and local taxes according to U.S. Census Bureau data.*

Cal-Tax
Established 1926

California Taxpayers' Association
921 Eleventh Street, Suite 800, Sacramento, CA 95814
Phone: (916) 441-0490 • Fax: (916) 441-1619 • E-mail: larry@caltax.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Atomic politics

by Dana Wilkie

When Californians learned in May that their federal government shipped 83 rail cars of radioactive waste to a Buttonwillow dump that may not have been allowed to bury it, the response from some California leaders was remarkable.

For its absence.

To anyone unfamiliar with the politics of radioactive waste, the silence from politicians such as Governor Gray Davis must have seemed an oversight. After all, the governor not only campaigned on environmental sensitivity, he vigorously battled a low-level radioactive waste dump planned for the Mojave Desert, for fear it was unsafe.

Californians may have deduced that the new governor was too consumed with school reforms or playing host to Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo to express the outrage one would have expected.

But perhaps there is another reason for the governor's reticence. And perhaps that requires a story about Robert Redford.

The story begins four years ago, right after the Clinton administration assured California that it could have 1,000 acres of federal land for a radioactive waste dump in Ward Valley.

Redford wrote the White House.

"What's the rush?" asked the Hollywood actor and Clinton contributor, whose scribbles caused quite a stir among White House aides. They advised one another in memos that the president was "pretty tight" with Redford and that they should craft "a good response." Several such letters followed Redford's. They came from actress Donna Mills, producers Lisa Henson and Gale Anne Hurd, and musician Don Henley. Songstress Bonnie Raitt took her guitar on the road to protest Ward Valley.

The dump would have buried radioactive debris in concrete or steel containers, covered it with 20 feet of gravel, cobble, clay and soil, and tested it to ensure that contaminants did not leak into groundwater 650 feet below. Yet even though the White House was convinced the dump was safe, memos reveal officials were paralyzed by political ramifications.

The memos refer to the opposition of environmentalists, Hollywood types, and Clinton allies such as California Senator Barbara Boxer — all of whom worried about contaminated groundwater 22 miles away in the Colorado River, a major source of water for southern California. Wrote an Interior Department official: "I can imagine no scenario that allows us to go forward with the land transfer and retain credibility with Boxer and the enviros."

Not long after the Hollywood letter-writing began, the Interior Department announced at least a year's delay for more safety tests.

The specter that these people feared at Ward Valley — the proximity of radioactive waste to drinking-water sources — is precisely what played out at Buttonwillow, where the Army Corps of Engineers sent 2,200 tons of New York debris that included forms of uranium, thorium and radium that can take millions of years to decay.

> "I can imagine no scenario that allows us to go forward with the land transfer and retain credibility with Boxer and the enviros."

The debris that went to Buttonwillow, a town near Bakersfield, was buried atop eight feet of netting, fabric and clay, half a mile from the California Aqueduct that funnels water to southern California. About 135 feet below the waste begins a groundwater system that feeds a larger aquifer that is a major drinking-water source for the 15,880-square-mile San Joaquin Valley. Moreover, the dump's operator — Safety-Kleen Services Inc. — pumps this groundwater from directly below the dump, then recycles it for drinking.

There appears only one difference between the desert dump that so many Democrats and entertainers fought, and the Buttonwillow dump: The Ward Valley dump was championed by a former Republican governor, Pete Wilson. The debris that went to Buttonwillow was sent there under the watch of a Democratic president. Were Davis to criticize the latter, he would publicly cross a president who can raise truckloads of campaign cash for California Democrats just by showing up at a few dinners.

It was nearly two weeks before a Davis spokeswoman would even allow that the Buttonwillow issue was on the very busy governor's "radar screen." A few days later, however, the governor found time to announce that he would not appeal a court ruling that makes Ward Valley's construction next-to-impossible.

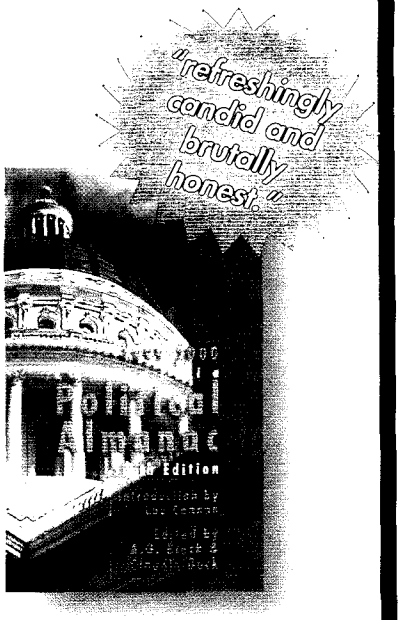
Contributing Editor Dana Wilkie is the Washington correspondent for the San Diego Union Tribune *and Copley News Service. Comments may be sent to editor@statenet.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Political Almanac
1999-2000 edition

Few works of fiction can rival the drama, intrigue and occasional lunacy of California's political life. Now you, too, can be an insider on Golden State politics with this comprehensive source book.

Now in its sixth edition, the California Political Almanac has won praise from tough critics for both its thoroughness and entertainment value. Written by experienced Sacramento journalists, the comprehensive Almanac contains detailed and insightful biographies of political leaders, photographs and voting records, district descriptions, maps and demographics, and covers every member of the state Senate, state Assembly, and California Congressional delegation. Introduced by journalist Lou Cannon, the 600-page reference book includes in-depth chapters on the budget, the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government and more.



A California Journal/State Net publication, 2101 K Street, Sacramento CA 95816. For immediate orders or more information, call 916/444-2840

Order now!

Price $34.95

California NISSAN

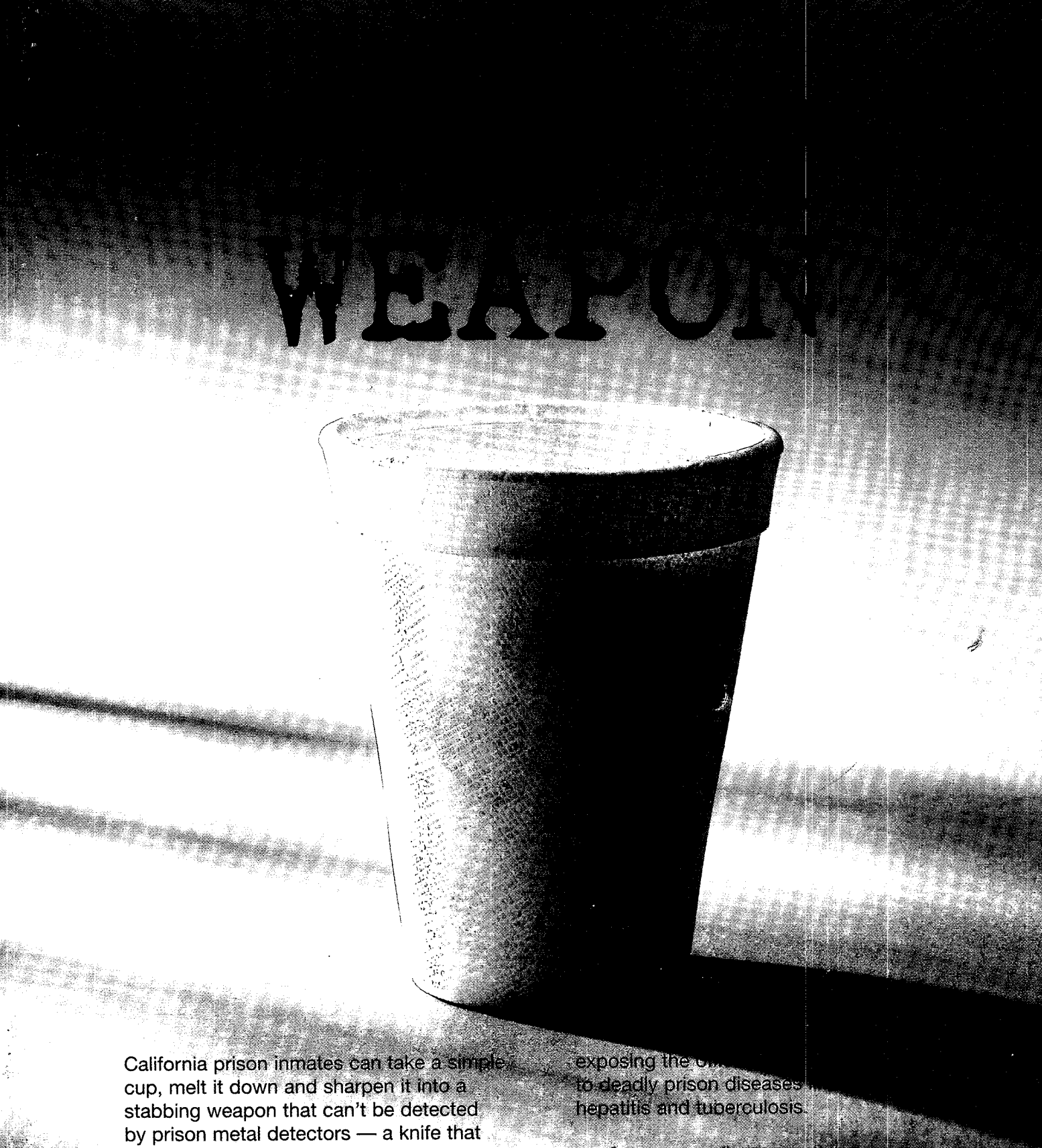
Centered in California since 1958.

Why did Nissan invest over $270 million in California, making it home to our corporate headquarters, our international design center and ten other facilities throughout the state? Because everyone knows, the coolest things always start out in California.

INVESTING IN CALIFORNIA
www.nissan-na.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WEAPON



California prison inmates can take a simple cup, melt it down and sharpen it into a stabbing weapon that can't be detected by prison metal detectors — a knife that can easily kill officers or other inmates.

Inmates also use the cups for "gassing" — an assault where inmates throw urine, feces, blood and other bodily fluids on correctional peace officers, exposing the [illegible] to deadly prison diseases [illegible] hepatitis and tuberculosis.

On average, five correctional peace officers are assaulted every day inside California prisons. It's all part of the job on "the toughest beat in the state," where even a simple cup can be lethal.

California [illegible] Association

916-372-6060

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED